









THE  
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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinners of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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No. 169.—JULY, 1887.

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## ART. I.—THE RÉLATIONS OF ISLAM TO CHRISTIANITY, AND OF CHRISTIANITY TO CIVILIZATION.

THE political condition of the Moslems has been more influenced by their religion than that of Christian States, because the Civil Law is based upon, and partly laid down in, their Scripture, like that of the ancient Hebrews; but the Gospel is not a code of Civil Law; it inculcates only religious and moral duties; therefore it became more easy to disregard and even to transgress its precepts in politics. It certainly does not sanction religious persecutions and wars, horrible punishments of culprits, and other acts flagrantly contradicting the spirit of it, which have been and are still being perpetrated wherever Christian nations obtain ascendancy; for all that, however, they have gradually emerged from barbarism and attained civilization. This, as well as the fact that the ancient Babylonians, Egyptians, Hindus, Greeks and Romans had developed a high state of culture and left monuments of literature, architecture, science and art, at which even the present age looks with amazement, shows that even so beautiful a religion as that of Christ is not a *sine qua non* of civilization, although but few impartial men will deny that it has been favourable to the development of it, as attained by the most advanced nations up to this time. If, then, Europeans could so accommodate the tenets of their religion to their political and social exigencies as actually to transgress them whilst professing to adhere to them, and in spite of the lapse of ages, evolve a high civilization from the chaos of barbarism, it would seem probable that Moslems could do so with their's likewise. The brilliant times of the Khalifates of Bagdad and Cordova, when the Moslems were conquerors and representatives of civilization, have long ago passed away, and in lieu of dictating the law to other nations, they must accept it from them, must associate with them, and must learn from them. A state of isolation means ruin, and the time has arrived when the texts repugnant

to progress, such as those concerning the duty to wage war against infidels, to despise them, to take blood-vengeance, &c., must gradually fall into abeyance. The belief, that Moslems must abjure Islam if they desire to enjoy the state of civilization possessed by Christians, is erroneous, and the idea that Islam is so fossilized as not to admit of as many modifications in favour of progress, as the Gospel has been made to undergo for sanctioning evil practices, is likewise erroneous. So far as individual cases are concerned, we can point to men who are perfectly educated, and therefore moral and civilized, and good Moslems, nevertheless, although perhaps they are not considered such by their less advanced co-religionists. But that Islam is incapable of change ought to be evident also from the multitude of its sects, which are as numerous as those of the Christians; but reforming and progressive sects are what are now needed. If the question—why so many abuses and vices flourish in otherwise highly civilized Christian countries, is met by the reply that in the defective historical development of those States, the Christian principle had never attained complete dominion, might it not be asserted with equal reason, that the stagnation and decay of Mahommedan countries is owing to the fact of the purity of Islam having declined by the multiplication and deterioration of sects which have brought on the present state of disunion and weakness?

Considering Islam from an entirely modern point of view, too much stress had been laid on its defects. Forgetting that the Arabs established the first universities in Europe, which brought on the revival of learning, writers accuse Islam of being an impediment to civilization, whereas it has strenuously promoted it. Far-seeing sovereigns and governors of provinces ordered the construction and maintenance of commercial roads, and paid much attention to canals; agriculture and trade flourished, and whole tracts, which had become barren, were transformed into cultivated fields. In Sicily the Arabs paid much attention to the cultivation of olives, and introduced also that of cotton and sugarcane. In Spain the plains of Granada, Murcia and Valentia were provided with reservoirs and aqueducts for irrigation, so that the country produced food in abundance. The luxury prevalent in the palaces of wealthy men imparted great vitality to handicrafts. The provinces of the Khalifate of Bagdad vied with each other in the production of costly silk-stuffs. The Eastern provinces furnished cloths of wool, cotton, and silk, but Bagdad excelled in gold-embroidery. Western Asia produced leather-work; the glass industry flourished in Syria, and the manufacture of paper in Egypt. Commerce prospered, caravans travelled by land in every direction, whilst ships laden with merchandise sailed to India. Nevertheless, whilst all this industrial and commercial activity

was being developed, the military profession held the first rank, all others being considered less honourable.

The most brilliant period of the history of the Arabs was in Europe the epoch of the Dark Ages, really an epoch of ignorance and of servitude. When those Christian knights who were as brave as they were ignorant, followed millions of armed pilgrims to the East, led by religious enthusiasm, they imagined they were going forth to fight barbarians scarcely worthy to fall under their noble swords. But they had to deal with a nation which was as valiant as it was enlightened, and Arab civilization triumphed over that formidable attack.\* The first crusade under Peter the Hermit was a miserable failure, resulting in his flight to Constantinople, and in the extermination of the whole army. The succeeding ones were better organized, and established among much rapine and bloodshed, the precarious tenure of several fortified places and of Jerusalem, which the crusaders held for nearly a century, when they lost the footing they had obtained in the Holy Land, a footing which they were able to retain only by means of a constant supply of soldiers, treasure and victuals from England, France, Germany, Hungary and Italy. The Christians, however, brought back from the East ideas that germinated in Europe, and afterwards concurred in the intellectual revival. This was the best result of the crusades, and it bears most eloquent testimony to the providential direction which social history underwent in Europe from that time. At first the crusaders condemned everything they saw, but when they became better acquainted with their surroundings, they judged differently. This may be gathered from the historians of the crusades, the first of whom speaks of everything Turkish as diabolic, whilst the later ones became more reconciled to the Moslems, and mention Nuruddin, Saladdin and others with evident respect. They not unfrequently represent Moslem warriors as models of chivalry and magnanimity, worthy to be imitated by Christians. The crusaders learnt from the Moslems that people could be monotheists without being Christians, and from the Byzantines that there could be Christians without believing in the Pope. Thus the path for a new and freer way of thinking was opened; the European world was gradually being awakened from the numbness into which it had lapsed after the destruction of the old Roman civilization, and acquired seeds for developing a new one. It is well known how enlarged and changed the minds of individuals becomes after foreign travel, but at the time of the crusades, whole nations were on their travels. After the sombre night of the tenth century, a fresh and brilliant morning dawned on Europe. States were put in order; education encouraged; commerce and agriculture

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\* Prize Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Mahammadan Civilization. By E. Rehaisek, Bombay, 1877, p. 64.



revived, and human energy became active in the path of progress. From that time European nations continued steadily to advance in civilization, making the gospel of work their chief pursuit, whilst the adherents of Islam, gradually adopting that of relaxation, soon fell back in the race, and became so powerless during the lapse of several centuries, that the Khalifates were all broken up, and other powers supplanted them which are at present themselves in a state of decay : Turkey has lost some of its fairest provinces ; Persia has become almost a vassal of Russia ; Algiers and Tunis are in the hands of the French ; Egypt is occupied by the English, and since the fall of the Moghul Empire, when India became a British possession, the Moslem population has stood aloof, in proud and stubborn isolation, from all the advantages which education offered to it in common with the other inhabitants of this country. To such a degree has this isolation been carried, that Government situations have, to the almost total exclusion of the Moslems, been bestowed upon others. This has gone on till recent times, and they are now beginning to cast off their lethargy ; they have at last perceived that they must become utterly ruined unless they conform to the exigencies of the present age.

Nobody who is acquainted with the contents of the Qorân will deny that it is full of admonitions inculcating virtue. As to the absurdities of Moslem scholastic theology, at which the finger of scorn is often pointed, they existed, and to a certain degree still exist, also in Christian theology. It is also admitted that in all Mahammadan sects the veneration of God is enforced, and that the behaviour of the people in their mosques is just as exemplary as that of Christians in churches. Travellers, however, infer that much of the piety thus displayed is only the effect of habit and education, mixed with a good deal of hypocrisy ; but alas ! for poor human nature, such is the case also among ourselves. According to the well known verses of Locker :—

We eat and drink and scheme and plod  
And go to church on Sunday,  
And many are afraid of God  
And more of Mrs. Grundy.

The prohibition of intoxicating drinks in the Qorân acted, and continues to act, beneficently upon the followers of Islam, there being no such habitual and wholesale intemperance among them as is general with the lower classes of the town-population of Europe, where it became necessary to establish societies for counteracting the inducements to that vice, which are commonly encountered in every street and alley.

Polygamy is no doubt an evil ; it is, however, not so generally practiced as some travellers assert, and the Qorân does not enjoin nor recommend it, but only permits it, although the prophet himself indulged in it. If polygamy be a pleasure, it is

bought dearly, because constant domestic squabbles are almost unavoidable ; they act, however, as a deterrent upon others, and the poor who are unable to support several wives, naturally abstain from this licence, as well as nearly all the educated Mahammadans who have become enlightened by contact with European civilization and appreciate the advantages of monogamy. Mormonism, the excrescence of Western civilization, shows that polygamy is not so utterly incompatible with it as some authors imagine. The facility of divorce also, so much objected to, and considered to be so detrimental to family life among the adherents of Islam, has of late been augmented to a prodigious extent in Europe as well as in America. This innovation has not come from the East, but it is certain that the latter received the institution from the West, which is at present looked upon as something abominable. The Khalifs of Damascus obtained eunuchs for their harems, first, from the Byzantine empire, and those of Cordova from France ; we ought likewise not to forget that up to very recent times, the chief singers in the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome were eunuchs.

The institution of slavery, no doubt, has contributed, in connection with other deleterious influences, to lower the morale of all who patronized it, but it could be no very great obstacle to civilization, as some of the most advanced nations—such as the English and the Americans—abolished it only during the present century. Moreover, the domestic slavery of the East is perfect bliss in comparison with the horrors of plantation life in Jamaica, Louisiana &c., now happily extinct. The hardships of African slaves, which were sometimes terrible, generally ceased as soon as they were sold into families whose members they became, whilst those of the West Indian and South American human cattle began with their working in gangs on plantations under the lash of overseers. In Virginia there are white men still living, whose occupation is gone, and consisted till the war, in the breeding and selling of negro children, for exportation and sale in other States of the Union, for plantation labour. The Southerners claimed for all that to be as civilized as other nations ; and not only themselves but even their clergy were slaveholders, who defended the iniquity to the last, quoting scripture and the practice of the patriarchs to uphold it, although among the latter the mildest form of domestic slavery alone prevailed, regulated by paternal authority and not by the lash. Nevertheless Europeans often wonder how it comes that it is so difficult to convince Mahammadans of the wickedness of slavery. Most of them know only of slaves as servants in households, but when they hear of African man huntings, and Turkoman kidnappings, they naturally recoil with horror from such cruelties just as Europeans do.

To insist that Islam is an intolerant religion because Christians have been, and are sometimes still, persecuted in Mahammadan countries, is branding Christianity with the same stigma. Religious wars were undertaken against the Moslems; a contest of 30 years raged on the continent between Catholics and Protestants; men and women were burnt in England as well as in other portions of Europe, because they happened to differ from the stronger party on certain dogmas,—they were called heretics and burnt. What shall we say of the so called Jew-baiting, the anti-Semitic movements in Russia, Germany, &c, which is by no means extinct?

When we consider the great power of the Khalifs, and the splendour of other courts after they had passed away—especially those of Persia and Turkey which flourished after them—and ask ourselves what force it was that gave rise to them, the reply can be no other than that it was the force of Islam which welded the Arab tribes into one nation, led them out of their deserts to overthrow dynasties and to found new empires. This spiritual force had declined so little during more than four centuries that, after 1258 when Hulagu had sacked Bagdad and put an end to the Khalifate of the Abbasides, the Mongols were gradually converted to the religion of the people they had conquered and became Moslems! Such conversions are not on record in modern times, but it is well known that even at the present time, Mahammadan missionaries are still very successful in Africa, in that Arab traders who penetrate into the interior frequently induce whole tribes to make a profession of their Faith. In China the province of Yunan is wholly Mahammadan, whilst others number many thousands of them. In British India the Moslem population amounts to forty millions and is proselytizing. All this, however, does not imply political power, because, as such, Islam has become disinterested; and during a series of centuries its professors have fallen back in the progress of civilisation. If it be asked why the civilization of Islam has declined, the reply is, because it was from its very beginning not a healthy civilization, the production of a natural development. It did not rise slowly and steadily from small beginnings, but sprang into existence suddenly, as it were by sorcery. The splendour of its towns was not the fruit of centuries of labour, but the result of a great usurpation by war, and, with the cessation of conquests, decay set in.

Those Mahammadan princes who encouraged agriculture, commerce and industry, could alone lay a firm foundation of civilization, and some had done so; but their number was small in comparison to those who cared only for conquest and plunder.

Causes of the decay of  
Islamic culture.

Among those who did not, despotism prevailed, the people were oppressed and the wealth displayed by the courts, the

nobles, and the officers, was all extorted from the lower classes, who appeared to live and to work only to support the luxury of their masters. The population lived in wretched houses built of mud-bricks dried in the sun, while the aristocracy revelled in palaces of stone and marble. This is the reason why a few ruins only remain on the sites of some of the most populous ancient cities. The *débris* of a palace or of a mosque were alone left standing after a war, an inundation, or a fire; the rest of the town being all converted into mounds of earth. Such was the case not only during the reign of the Khalifs, but also of the Sasanians and even the Assyrians: the misery and poverty of the cottages which surrounded the palaces has been forgotten, whilst the pomp and magnificence of the latter has been recorded in history.

It would be unfair to compare the industry and trade of the times of the Khalifs with the achievements of modern times; but admitting that both flourished, it is certain that they served rather to provide for the luxuries of the wealthy and prosperous upper classes, than the needs of the general population. The brief duration of Mahammadan culture also shows how frail the foundation was upon which it had been based. Every war and every change of dynasty, as well as every period of reckless administration, was fraught with the danger of impoverishing large tracts, whilst the devastations of war or catastrophies of nature required great efforts to bring them again under cultivation. The insecurity of tenure, and the paucity of the wants of a small landholder or farmer in the East, both deterred him from exerting himself beyond his indispensable necessities then, as they do even now. The Mongol invasion which destroyed the Khalifate of Bagdad has been sometimes considered as the chief calamity that befell Mahammadan civilization, but history shows that the devastating contests waged by the Moslems against each other had a very large share in reducing their power, maiming their civilization, and gradually bringing on their present decrepitude.

When the Khalifate was broken up into smaller states, it seemed as if the latter would become the possessors of a more lasting civilization. In the capitals of the new kingdoms, Mahammadan civilization appeared to have taken a new lease of life; but the old system of robbery was renewed, and its decay progressed with double speed after a brief period of bloom.\* On an average, and on the whole, the old destructive influences continued to work with unabated force, whilst the beneficial ones diminished. Unrestricted intercourse, which had, formerly promoted commerce and

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\* Der Islam in seinem Einfluss auf das Leben seiner Bekenner. Von Johannes Hauri. •Leiden 1882. p. 189 seq.

industry 'now ceased to exist; every sovereign attempted to fill his empty treasury by imposing high import and export duties upon every article of it. Inducements to work disappeared more and more; old and imperfect tools were used in handicrafts. While a spirit of enterprise began to animate all classes of the population in Europe, and one new invention after the other was being utilized for the benefit of industry, conceit hindered the Moslems from acknowledging foreign progress and adopting the improvements of it. Accordingly, Eastern industry was soon outstripped by Western in every direction. Already in the eleventh century European broad-cloth was imported into the East, as being more solid and more conscientiously worked than home manufactures. Cotton and woollen stuffs, glass-ware, even silk-textures and gold brocade had been imported, even before Chenghiz and Timur had destroyed the old seats of those industries. Enquiry for European goods increased constantly. The Turkish Empire had, even during its greatest prosperity, recourse to the products of Western industry. European artizans, armourers, and cannon-founders were extremely welcome in all Moslem States. Even Abbas I, to whom Persia was at the beginning of the seventeenth century indebted for a revival of trade and industry, sent ambassadors to Venice, who brought back for him cuirasses, razors, silk stuffs, cloths, mirrors, gilded glass-ware and similar articles.\* Already for more than a century there was not a house or a tent in Muhammadan Asia, to which Western products had not found admittance. In more recent times the Islamitic world has been compelled to acknowledge the superiority of Western industry in every department. The looms of European manufactures caused all the oriental ones to stand still, and manual labour, unable to dispense with obsolete tools, found it useless to compete with machinery.

In vain do Moslem sovereigns endeavour to imitate European industries, because the political and social basis necessary for their prosperity is wanting. Nusreddin, the present Shah of Persia, erected, at an immense outlay, manufactories according to European models. But the employés and overseers, accustomed to fraud, vied in robbery with the badly and irregularly paid labourers; the machines imported from Europe were spoiled and could not be repaired, so that the manufactories had to be closed after a brief period of activity. Wherever railways, steamers, and other European means of communication have been introduced, they have benefited European merchants only, Moslems being unable to appreciate these advantages. Such, however, is by no means the case in British

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\* Vámbéry. *Der Islam in 19 Jahrhundert*, p. 203.

India, and it would be a libel upon our Mahammadan firms, who entertain branches in England, China and Africa, to make any assertion of this kind; but they have constantly before their eyes the European houses of Bombay, Calcutta and other Indian commercial centres, whose example they profitably follow. Not only in commercial but also in other affairs, the Indian Moslems are beginning to show that they are, under British influence and example, quite able to cast off their lethargy, and to take their share in the advancement of civilization, although the masses are yet plunged in torpor and lagging behind in civilization; but is not this also the case with the peasantry in many parts of Europe? In Persia, and even in Turkey, the case of the followers of Islam is not as hopeful as in India. Their fertile tracts of country remain uncultivated, cities are in ruins, and the people sunk in barbarism. In Persia, Shah Abbas I. endeavoured to promote civilization by constructing roads, building bridges, encouraging commerce and fostering industry, but his successors allowed everything to decay again. During the reign of Shah Abbas, Ispahan was the capital city, and numbered six hundred thousand inhabitants, but now it has only sixty thousand, and its splendid edifices are only ruins. Nusreddin, the present Shah, is also making attempts to improve the country, and must have derived some profit from his visit to Europe, but many of his courtiers place obstacles in the way of progress, which, considering the backward state of the country, and its exhaustion by terrible famines, could at the best be but very slow.

In the extinction of agriculture by systematic oppression of the laboring population, the Turks have brought about sad changes, as under their dominion the most fertile regions have been ruined. They have transformed glorious tracts into deserts and the best portions of Asia Minor are now uncultivated. Natural harbours which were in former times great emporia of commerce, have now become miserable fishing villages; the once fertile plains at the mouths of rivers are morasses. Ruins, everywhere, bear witness to the prosperity of former times, and cemeteries alone mark the spots once occupied by populous villages. Nomadic Turkomans burn down forests that provender may grow from the ashes for their goats and camels. Every severe winter is the cause of a famine. In fertile Northern Syria, which was for centuries the scene of a highly civilized life, Turkish supremacy has so reduced the population that it is at present not greater than if it had settled on ruined sites. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Aleppo was surrounded by three hundred villages; at the end of it, only fourteen remained. The silk fabrics which were manufactured in the town, and gave employment to

thirty thousand looms, is now, wherever required, supplied from Europe. Arab and Kurdish cattle now browse in the localities where formerly luxuriant gardens flourished. When the Turks conquered Cyprus from the Venetians in 1570, it contained fourteen hundred flourishing towns and villages; a hundred years later this number dwindled to one-half, and after that period a great portion of the island remained uncultivated. Happily the island of Cyprus has, since the Russo-Turkish war, fallen into British possession, and signs of rapid improvement are already beginning to manifest themselves.

The author of "Der Islam in seinem Einfluss," &c.\* only expresses a fact, acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons, by admitting that the religious enthusiasm of the Moslems formerly exerted a beneficent influence upon all branches of intellectual life, and that the Qorân gave an impulse, in some measure, to popular education, as well as to the cultivation of theological, legal, and grammatical studies; it also awakened an interest in philosophical questions and scientific pursuits in general. The injunction to wage war against the infidels which procured dominion to the Moslems, enlarged also their views, created new wants, and caused the exact sciences to flourish among them; the wealth accruing to the Moslems by their conquests, and the feeling of security, which the consciousness of being destined to conquer the world entailed, allowed poetry and art to attain a high degree of perfection. Whilst the author admits that whatever intellectual life yet exists in the Mahammadan world, perhaps Persia alone excepted, it is indebted for it to Islam, he also asserts that to it also all the evils which were from the beginning inherent to the Mahammadan world, must be ascribed. Hence it would appear that according to him this religion is the only source of good and at the same time of evil, as if no other influences in the world were every moment at work to produce them, not only in the Mahammadan but also in the Christian world. When a drunken sailor is pointed out to us as an example of what Christianity is, we at once turn round and say that our religion does not countenance intoxication, and it may be presumed that a Moslem would likewise demur to see his religion made responsible for the crimes of its transgressors. Considering that in Baghdad, in Cordova and in Cairo, very heterodox opinions prevailed during certain epochs, and that philosophical disputations were often countenanced, the assertion is untenable that insurmountable barriers to all true science, and to every free movement of the intellect, are opposed wherever the Qorân

is the basis of religion and of law. Judging Islam from an entirely modern standpoint, and comparing the civilization it had reached with the attainments of the present age, the author arrives at the conclusion that although Islam may yet for a long time be able to elevate barbarous nations to a certain degree of culture, it will never again produce a genuine culture of the mind, and that if beginnings of it were, under favourable conditions, to manifest themselves, the awakened life would, after a brief season, again merge into the sleep of death. The author might as well have omitted to allude to the mission of Islam of elevating barbarous nations, by which he probably meant those of the interior of Africa, and might have mentioned the hopeful fact, that wherever European comes in contact with Muhammadan civilization, it raises it to a higher level, and abundantly repays the debt incurred towards the latter, when it imparted, during the Dark Ages, the first and great impulse to the revival of learning in Europe. The dominions of the Nizam are among the best administered native States of India, and the late Sir Salar Jung, whose career of utility and reform was cut short by death, is considered to have been one of the greatest statesmen of the day not only in this country but also in Europe.

The founder of Christianity has emphatically asserted that this kingdom is not of this world, and his prediction has been as emphatically fulfilled; for although Christian nations are the foremost in civilization, they flagrantly violate the precepts of their religion in all their political transactions, by waging unrighteous wars, by committing oppressions and every kind of fraud; accordingly, theirs is not a Christian civilization. It, therefore, follows that in order to attain in course of time a civilization like that of Europe, Moslems must not necessarily become Christians, the more so as among

Results of the attempts to  
convert Moslems to Chris-  
tianity.

the latter some of the highest representatives of the intellect of our century have openly renounced any belief in their ancestral faith, and Johannes Hauri, the author of "Der Islam," &c., although himself a Christian clergyman, is of opinion that some tenets of our religion will have to be modified to suit the advanced state of our race. Might not such be the case also with the faith of Islam, and might not the reforming sects, the Wahibis for instance, so interpret certain passages of the Qorân as not to clash in the least against the requirements of modern civilization and progress?

We shall now give the poor results attained in the attempts made to convert the Moslems to Christianity, and shall do so as far as possible according to the views of the author just alluded to, in order to show that he does not share the Utopian



expectations entertained by some ardent missionaries. Let us first give a historical sketch of what has been done from the eighth to the present century :—

There exists a "Disputation of a Saracen, with a Christian," written by John of Damascus in the eighth century, and his disciple Theodorus Abucara, continued the controversy but without any result. The Arabian Christian, Al Kindi, (of whose book Sir W. Muir lately gave an English account, and which is also procurable here in the original, at the depôts of the Bible and Tract Societies) who wrote an apology of Christianity against Islam, fared no better, although he was much respected at the court of Mâmûn, the enlightened Khalif, whom fanatic Mahammadans detest. In the eleventh century Samonas, Archbishop of Gaza, held religious disputations between Moslems and Christians, according to the custom formerly in vogue at Baghdad and in other towns. In these controversies the arguments were not drawn from religious books but from reason. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries several Christian divines, and among them Alanus ab Insulis, rector of the Paris University, and after him the Bishop of Auxerre, composed treatises against Islam, but without the least effect.

In the thirteenth century St. Francis attempted, during the siege of Damiëta by the crusaders, to convert the Sultan Kamel. He proposed to terminate the controversy by an ordeal, and challenged the Sultan to kindle a large fire, which he would enter with a Moslem priest. When the Imam, who was present, slunk away, Francis offered to pass alone through the fire if the Sultan would promise to make a profession of Christianity with his subjects, in case he should come out unhurt. The Sultan rejected the proposal and dismissed him unharmed. The other attempts of Francis as well as those of St. Dominic and of his pupils effected just as little. In the same century Dominicus, the general of the order of Dominicans, founded schools for oriental languages in Tunis and in Murcia. His great contemporary, Thomas Aquinas, attacked Moslem theology and philosophy in an extensive philosophical work the "Summa Contra Gentiles." Raimundus Lullus of Majorca preached as a Franciscan to the Moslems. He had invented a peculiar method, the "Ars Magna," to make the conceptions and dogmas of Christian truth plain and convincing to the intellect by means of physical representations. After fruitless attempts to induce the Pope to establish colleges and missionary schools for Moslems, he preached in Tunis, but paid for his boldness by being thrown into prison, and escaped death only through the intervention of a Moslem, who represented to the Sultan, that if a Moslem were in this way to go among

Christians, he would be deemed worthy of high honours by his co-religionists. In consequence of his solicitation, the Council of Vienna decreed in 1312, the founding of chairs for oriental languages in Paris, Salamanca, Oxford and other towns.

In 1345, a monk penetrated into the great mosque of Cairo and challenged the Sultan to be converted. His speech was so powerful, that a renegade from Christianity recanted, but further fruits did not ensue. During the following centuries literary controversies were continued, and a considerable number of writings against Islam, by western and eastern Christians, were published; but as they took no effect whatever, there is no need of mentioning any of them.

The Raimundus Lullus of the nineteenth century, is no doubt Henry Martyn, who came to India as a chaplain in the service of the East India Company, and afterwards went to Shiraz where he produced a Persian New Testament, with the aid of a learned native. He died before he could reach England. His labours remained fruitless as far as conversions are concerned, as well as those of the Basel Missionary Society, among the Circassians, whose activity was cut short by an Ukaz in 1833.

Missionaries have converted some Moslems in this country, but their efforts remain almost totally fruitless in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Small congregations of converted Moslems actually exist in the Punjab and in the Central Provinces, amounting perhaps, to three hundred persons in all. The number of educated men among them is very inconsiderable, but Imadeddin, who wrote in 1866, a justification of his conversion, the example of which was followed by others, attained some celebrity, as well as his learned brother Khaireddin who had likewise become a Christian and preached to Moslems, but who suddenly recanted again after being a Christian seven years.

If in a country like India, where not the least enmity is shown by Government to converts from Islam to Christianity, and where they frequently gain material advantages by their change of religion, conversions take place so seldom, it is no wonder that in the Turkish empire, where Islam holds supreme sway also as a political power, the prospects of conversion are even more gloomy. According to the statement of 1878 by a Missionary,\* the positive results of Missions among Moslems in the Ottoman empire amount to not more than three converts in Constantinople, two in Cario, and three in Jerusalem; whilst a Missionary Report from Egypt, of the same year, speaks of three converts, as of a "special blessing."

The facts just adduced show, that, a few exceptions apart,

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\* Rev. T. P. Hughes. Proceedings of the General Conference on Foreign Missions, 1878. London 1879, p. 327.

the Christian church was, down to our times, not hindered by culpable remissness, but by a conviction of the hopelessness of Moslem missions to neglect them and to concentrate its efforts upon those among polytheists. A monotheism which embodies fundamental truths, although sometimes in a distorted shape, is to be combatted differently from polytheism. It is well known that all Christians, but more particularly Roman Catholics, are by Moslems generally considered to be idolators and therefore far beneath them. Oriental Christians, especially the Copts, have sunk deeply, so that even the lowest of Moslems would scorn to become like one of them, whilst the educated, who have come in contact with the civilisation of Europe, or have even visited that continent, are quite prepared to discuss the position of the Christian church there, with its numerous schisms, sects, and even the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope. They describe the excesses of the Paris Commune and other shady sides of Europe, whenever the superior position of Christian countries is alluded to, as the effects of it. The dishonest and immoral lives of Europeans are pointed to, with the remark, "the Christians are not better, but worse than we are"; and whilst some admit the defects of the legislation of the Qorân, and are of opinion that if the prophet were now alive he would make many changes, they nevertheless wish to have nothing to do with Christianity.

The aversion towards certain Christian doctrines inculcated already by the prophet is now as general as it was in his time. To a Moslem the dogma of the Trinity means Tritheism, which is idolatry. The sonship of Christ is answered by the text:—"God is the only, the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not one like unto him," and many others to the same purport. The tenets of Islam are wonderfully simple, and more intelligible to common sense than those of Christianity. This strong antipathy against Christian doctrines may justify the doubts entertained whether the Gospel can, according to the form of the old church, ever find admittance among Moslems. As long as the Christian church presents its doctrine in the form in which it emerged from the Trinitarian and Christologian disputations of the early centuries, so long will it occupy a difficult position as against Islam, which is indebted for its origin to a half conscious, and half unconscious reaction against this form of the church doctrine. But in all the theological movements of the Protestant church, the feeling is more or less evident, that the radical conceptions of Christian doctrine stand in need of a transformation, and that the one-sided intellectual rule which makes a number of theoretical scholastic propositions the standard of piety, must make way for another representation of Christianity. The process of the

new formation has been initiated, and a time will arrive, when a representation, independent of scholastic ideas of the old church will carry off the victory ; then, perhaps, the preaching of the Gospel in Mahammadan countries will become more hopeful.

After announcing the above opinion the author continues—  
“As long as we feel that we are in a period of transition—and what honest Protestant does not feel it—so long shall we be unable to preach the Gospel to Moslems with joy, and therefore also without success ; for, we cannot, after all, thrust upon the adherents of a heresy, the form of Christian doctrine which we have ourselves found to be defective, and the errors of which have produced that heresy.” If this really be the case, the physician must first heal himself before he tries to cure others.

Of the two hundred millions of Mahammadans in the world, more than one-fourth are the subjects of Christian sovereigns ; and even in the countries where the latter are Moslems, European civilization has made itself felt. An extensive commerce has spread its net over Mahammadan countries. Railways, steamers, telegraphs have been established, western political ideas have found admittance, social reforms have been introduced, slavery has, at least theoretically, been abolished in several countries, and in many respects European models are imitated in the administrations of governments. Fanatics gnash their teeth at all these improvements, but advanced and truly educated Moslems hail them with joy, without any fear that their religion will be subverted by them.

The British power has justly been called a great Mahammadan power, because forty millions of its subjects are adherents of Islam. Although it is pretty well understood that Moslems have to apprehend no interference whatever with their religion in Government Schools, they have nevertheless obstinately kept aloof from them, and accept instruction only in establishments where the children are taught by their own Moulvis, and are not mixed with boys of other nationalities. This state of affairs is now gradually passing away, but the consequence of it was, that it excluded Moslems from higher education likewise, and the number of their graduates in the universities may be almost counted on the fingers ; it accounts also for the scanty number of Mahammadan Government officials, especially in the higher branches. The case with the Dutch Indies is nearly the same as that of British India. There, likewise, a great deal has been done for the improvement of education, agriculture, and industry, but especially in the island of Java, where in 1872 the number of Government schools amounted to 83, and of private schools to 90, taking Java and Madura together. These schools were attended by about

14,000 pupils, which of course does not mean much in a population of 17 millions.

Next to England and Holland, Russia and France possess the greatest number of Mahammadan subjects. France does not appear to be very successful in her dealings with the Moslems of Algiers, although it is an exaggeration to say that her Government is no better than that of Turkish Pashas. It is not to be overlooked that immense difficulties must be contended with there. The Kabyles can somehow be managed, but the nomad Arabs are inclined to obey no law, and despise everything which even remotely smacks of civilization. How unfounded the complaints against French administration are, may be inferred from their contradictory nature. On the one hand the Government is blamed for too great severity, and on the other for too much leniency. While some complain of the too great extension of the civil administration, others are shocked by the uncompromising rule of the sword. It cannot of course be asserted that the administration of Algiers is faultless. It has, in consequence of the unfortunate political relations of France, suffered from defects which somewhat resemble those of the Turkish Government. The frequent change of employés, and oftentimes their inadequate salaries, have given occasion for bribery and extortion, so that the old social evils of Algiers have only been partly remedied. Hence we must not be astonished if even the good intentions of the Government meet with distrust and passive resistance. One kind of progress is however undeniable. The Arabs have commenced to prefer the French Courts of justice to their own, many of which have fallen into abeyance. The country has also, especially within the last ten years, made a hopeful progress in civilization, by the establishment of harbours, roads, railways, canals, Artesian wells, and the drainage of marshes. In consequence of the tranquillity which prevails in the country, the inclination to work has increased, at least among the Kabyles. If only the European settlers profit by these improvements of civilization, and extrude the native population, it is but the effect of the superiority of the former, and of the obstinate sullenness of the latter. The efforts of Christian Missionaries are, alas, *nil*.

From the contradictory views published, and from opinions broached as to on the best method of governing Algiers, it may be inferred that a simple military dictatorship would suit the greatest portion of Algiers better than the complicated machinery of a civil Government. The whole system of the French civil administration, with its endless papers and red tape, which gives even in civilized countries much occasion for chicanery and disgust, is quite unbearable to the Bedouins and Kabyles. The

question, however, whether the administration is to be military or civil, may perhaps soon be solved in the simplest manner, because the events of 1881 have probably convinced the French Government, that it will, for a long series of years to come, have no other choice left but to uphold authority in Algiers and in the adjoining countries with the Chassepot and the sabre, and meanwhile to reserve the black tail-coat with the white necktie for France only.

Russia is, by Moslems, considered to be the most dangerous antagonist of their religion, and perhaps justly so. Russian policy is guided by the conviction that Mahammadan countries are in a state of decay, and that, therefore, they are to be conquered and made accessible to civilization. It is a long time since a policy of conquest has been continuously pursued in Asia, with the chief view to promote material, especially commercial, interests, but civilizing agencies have likewise not been wholly neglected. In Europe, Russia's efforts at civilization are generally laughed to scorn. It may, indeed, be difficult to look upon the knout as an instrument of civilization, but considering the lamentable position in which the countries of Central Asia are, it would be unjust to deny that Russia, there, not only possesses, but also exerts a civilizing influence. Peace and order have been restored in the conquered countries, roads have been constructed, and a considerable impulse has been imparted to trade: there are even Russian missionaries in Central Asia. When Khiva was conquered in 1873, slavery was in a great measure abolished, and many thousand Persian slaves obtained their liberty. Numberless men yet suffer the most wretched bondage, and kidnapping still flourishes, but Russia is endeavouring to put an end to these practices. Every conquest in Central Asia may be considered as a victory of civilization, the boundaries of which will be still more enlarged, if the Khanates of Khiva and Khokand soon become totally subject to Russia. If harsher means are employed in her efforts of civilization by Russia in Central Asia than by England in India, it is because she has to deal with people of quite another stamp, and, for the Tatar-Mongolian predatory nations, Russian despotism appears to be at all events a beautiful form of Government.

There is no doubt about the progress of Islam in Central Africa, and the question has arisen whether Muhammadan states will arise there before any Christian communities can be established. African chiefs have no repugnance towards Christian Missionaries, who even whilst they build houses for their own use, and cultivate plots of ground for their support, impart some of the blessings of civilization to the natives, but the latter object to the strict code of morality insisted upon in the teaching

of Christian Missionaries, which, on the part of the Arab traders who act as propagators of Islam, is generally confined to the formula, that there is no God but Allah, and that Mahammad is his prophet. After the missionaries, merchants come, who barter and desire to make fortunes, so that with the Bible the Africans not unfrequently obtain brandy and gunpowder, which are generally more acceptable to them. The extension of the power of Egypt in a southern direction, by Sir S. Baker and other Europeans, was only an extension of the influence of Islam.

As to the Turkish Empire, the Western Powers had, half a century ago, determined to reform it, because they could not destroy it according to the plan of Russia. After all, however, the Turkish policy of the Western Powers appears to have played into the hands of Russia, because the final annihilation of the Ottoman Empire, which it ardently desires, will ensue the more speedily, the more they insist upon the introduction of reforms. The separation of important provinces from the Empire, after the last Russo-Turkish war, shows that its dismemberment is not very distant. This England endeavoured to stave off for fear of not obtaining its due share in the partition, by demanding reforms in Asia Minor and in the financial administration of Constantinople, but that fear having ceased to exist since the occupation of Egypt, the approach of the last catastrophe has become still more probable. Then Christian sovereigns will become the masters of the adherents of Islam in Turkey, but their conversion will nevertheless remain as improbable as of their co-religionists in India.

Partly on account of the scanty hopes and partly on account of the dangers of conversion in Mahammadan countries, Christian Missionaries wisely confine their labours mostly to the education of youth. A great portion of the Moslem population, especially the lower strata of it, have no objection to send their children to a school although the Bible may be taught in it; and such is often also the case in India, more particularly when no fees, or very trifling ones, are exacted for the instruction. The English Mission School in Cairo was frequented by 300 boys and 200 girls; one half of the former, and two-thirds of the latter being Mahammadans. The American Mission in Egypt maintains thirty schools, which are attended by Mahammadan children; that of Cairo, for instance, containing 50 boys and 70 girls. In Syria many Protestant as well as Catholic schools have been established in consequence of the massacre of Christians in 1860, when numberless orphan children were collected by the missionaries in Beyrut, and the adherents of other religions were also admitted, so that the children of the murdered sat in the same school with those of the murderers.

A Turkish Pasha expressed himself in the following manner to the mistress of an English Mission-school when paying a visit to it :—" Madam, such schools as yours, to which you admit all sects, will make another massacre impossible." Whilst in former times scarcely three hundred children attended school in Beyrut, nine thousand do so at present, three thousand of whom obtain instruction in Protestant schools. In the whole of Syria, from Antioch to Nazareth, more than ten thousand children, almost one half of which are girls, enjoy instruction in Protestant schools. In Beyrut, women also, several hundreds of whom are Mahammadans, receive biblical instruction in Sunday schools and day schools, and many of them learn to read and to write. Although at first much antipathy was displayed towards these schools, they enjoy, at present, especially those for girls, much sympathy even among the Mahammadan population ; thus, for instance, not long ago the wives of the Effendis of Baalbeck requested the English missionaries of Beyrut to establish a school in their town, and a similar request of the inhabitants of Damascus was also complied with.\*

In Palestine, especially in Jerusalem, much good has likewise been effected by English and German philanthropic institutions, and more particularly by Fliedner's House of Deaconesses, where, since 1851, many hundred girls have annually been provided for. Numerous boys' and girls' schools, at which Mahammadan children likewise attend, are also maintained. In other portions of the Ottoman Empire, such as Asia Minor and European Turkey, American missionaries are also labouring.

Of the forty-five millions of the population in the Ottoman Empire, about twelve millions are Christians, but they occupy a low moral position. The Copts of Egypt have sunk most deeply, immorality and superstition being so fearfully prevalent among them, that they are scarcely more accessible to the influences of Western Christianity than the Moslems. But also the Armenians, the Jacobites of Syria and Mesopotamia, the Nestorians of Persia and of the adjoining regions of the Turkish dominions, have almost entirely lost the spirit of Christianity, and retained only its forms. The inclination, so prevalent among all orientals, to seek the essence of religion in external ceremonies, has become still more developed by contact with Islam, and by a spiritual isolation of centuries to which the Eastern Christians were exposed, it is a wonder how their churches have subsisted for so long a time. But, perhaps, their rigid adherence to the existing forms had strengthened their power of resistance. The Catholic church and the various Protestant denominations have attempted to gain influence

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\* Proceedings of the General Conference, &c. p. 833 sec.



with their oriental sister-churches. A portion of the Armenians and of the Nestorians have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, without, however, gaining any essential advantage. Among the other sects, English and American missionaries have attempted to resuscitate evangelical life. That no appreciable results have manifested themselves as yet, must be attributed, partly to the frequent political commotions, partly to the insecure relations of the East, by which the work has often been interrupted, and partly also to the resistance which the oriental churches themselves offer. The results are, nevertheless, encouraging, and at any rate, at present, the hope that these churches may again be awakened to a new life, must not be abandoned. It is nevertheless to be considered as an effect of Western influence, which the elders of the churches are attempting to counteract, that they are beginning to pay more attention to education, by founding male and females schools in order to paralyze the influence of European Missionaries.

The attempt to introduce evangelical Christianity in Palestine, by establishing agricultural colonies, is but feeble, as the number of colonists scarcely exceeds one thousand, scattered about Jerusalem and Jaffa, but the religious character of the colonies and the laborious lives of the colonists, cannot fail to exert a beneficent influence upon the population. They have, however, to contend against several obstacles, such as the enmity of the Turkish officials, who look with suspicion upon every European undertaking, and seek to wreck it with all their might; the climate is a yet greater impediment, because the colonists cannot engage in agricultural labours, and are obliged to hire natives to cultivate their fields, and occupy themselves with trades. That Palestine can ever be inhabited by a large and permanent population emigrating to it from Europe is beyond all probability, but that Islam will gradually disappear in Europe is quite certain, because, at present, the European Turks are not more than one million and a half, whilst their decrease is still continuing. They are an effete race, and so are the Persians, whose numbers remain stationary, when they are not being decimated by famine or war; but that the more vigorous Mahammadan nations will, under more favourable conditions of existence, strive and endeavour to play an important part in the history of the world, is possible, although Islam itself has hitherto remained an insoluble enigma. Rising in the seventh century only, and aiming to overthrow all other religions, Islam reached in a few centuries the epoch of its highest glory, and then began its downward course both as a political and a religious power. Its adherents everywhere most obstinately refuse to accept Christianity, although it generally brings civilization, prosperity and wealth in its train;

accordingly they will have to strive to attain all these advantages without renouncing their own religion; whether they will be able to do so or not, it is impossible to predict. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that reforms of every kind, and a more extensive educational system, will stem the tide of decline, and ameliorate the prospects of Mahammadans in every way.

Mr. Wilfred Blunt is a sincere well-wisher of Moslems, and had, after close intercourse with them in other parts of the world, made a tour in India, where he proposed the establishment of a Mahammadan University at Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's Dominions, and generously promised to contribute Rs. 30,000 towards it. On this subject *The Christian Magazine*\* expresses its opinion as follows:—"Mr. Blunt is very much distressed because he finds that Mussalmans attend colleges, and are connected with Universities in which European Professors exercise an influence. He carries his dislike to his own countrymen to such an extent, that he objects to the Calcutta Madrasa and to the Mahammadan College at Aligarh, as places of instruction for Mahammadan youth, because the Principals and some of the Professors are non-Moslems. The remedy he proposes is, that the Mussalmans of India should ignore the present Universities, and that H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad should found a University, in which all literature and science should be looked at from a Moslem standpoint, and all the professors be Mahammadans; for, says he, 'Moslems see that neither history, nor philosophy, nor Western literature can be taught by unbelievers in the divine mission of their Prophet, without serious risk of undermining their pupils' faith.' This may be true of persons like the bigotted Triplicane Moulvis, but it is not true of intelligent Mussalmans, who are year by year coming forth in increasing numbers, and are seeking to keep pace with the times in which they live. Mr. Blunt's views of Islam, and of the needs of the Indian Moslems, seem to be based on what he has learnt from the Ulama of Cairo. Had he condescended to consult such men as Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Amir Ali Sahib, and others who are the leaders of the progressive party amongst Indian Moslems, he would have found that there is no desire on their part to isolate the community from the other classes of the population, or to give them a one-sided education. Mahammadan gentlemen are Fellows of the various Indian Universities, and there is no Moslem, whose opinion is worth considering, who has ever made the least objection to the University system."

To these objections Mr. Blunt would probably reply that the isolated instruction proposed by him is at all events better

than none at all, and that Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur with the Muhamādan gentlemen who are Fellows of the various Indian Universities, are but as a drop in the ocean of the uneducated masses, who consider them as heretics, and would prefer to remain altogether uneducated, except through the channel proposed by Mr. Blunt. This is the dilemma.

Now we shall take up the second portion of our thesis, from which it will appear that a *purely* Christian civilization, without any admixture of heathenism, has never before existed, and has also hitherto nowhere been evolved.

It is generally admitted that civilization has existed and still exists outside of the pale of Christianity, and if it be said that without Christianity there never was, nor is, a perfect civilization, the obvious reply suggests itself, that Christianity has since its existence likewise never, and nowhere, produced "perfect civilization." Mere differences in degree, be they ever so important, do not fall under consideration, when the question turns simply upon Christian and non-Christian civilization. It must be allowed that before the time of Christianity, high culture was attained by some countries, such as India, Egypt, Greece and Rome, as we have observed already in the first portion of this article. After Christianity had overspread nearly the whole of Europe, non-Christian civilization influenced portions of it, and the achievements of the Mahammadans in Spain left imperishable memorials. Even now Islam is one of the most dangerous rivals of Christianity on the mission field, and if it be said that the culture it offers is of low degree, it must at any rate be admitted, that it raises the barbarians of Africa to a higher level than that which they occupied before their conversion. As to the ancient civilised nations, such as the Greeks and Romans, they entertained no religious propaganda like the Christians and the Mahammadans; but they imparted a portion of their culture to the nations they subjugated; some of their aqueducts, highways, palaces, &c., being still in existence. Long after these nations have disappeared, their intellectual attainments still survive; the Roman Law is studied to this day, and so is the Euclid of the Greeks; their arts and sciences are admired, and Christian poets draw inspiration from heathen gods. Hence it appears that these were not simple civilizations, but missionary civilizations, which are yet actually existing by the side of Christian culture as models for imitation. It is objected as greatly derogatory to these civilizations that they sanctioned slavery,

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\* I am indebted to the German periodical "Der Beweis des Glaubens" for the better part of this portion of my article.

assigned a mean position to women, &c., which shows, it is said, that they knew nothing of "human dignity." On the other hand, however, it is well known that the New Testament contains no direct prohibition either of slavery or of polygamy, although both these institutions are certainly against the spirit of it. It is, however, quite different whether something is *directly* excluded from the New Testament as unworthy of Christianity, or whether its extirpation is expected as a gradual indirect fruit of the prevalence of the Christian spirit. It cannot likewise be denied that, in like manner, "Christian" countries cherished a form of slavery more abominable than that of the Romans or Greeks, and forced it upon the nations they "civilized." It was, of course, a false Christianity which tolerated, and even originated, such slavery, but we have here in view historical Christianity as it developed itself among nations; and *this* Christianity has, by its official representatives, undoubtedly tolerated slavery. As to the position of women and their "equal rights" in the nineteenth century, no trace of it occurs in the New Testament. Although as Christians, men and women are placed there on a footing of equality in the sight of God, the wife is subordinate to the husband in the house (and entirely so in public life) not however as a slave, as in many pagan religions and laws, but as a helpmate. Nevertheless in Rome, wives were far from being the slaves of their husbands, and in many islands of the Pacific Ocean, women occupy an honourable position. In several other respects also, the view that the wife is the helpmate of her husband has not been developed only after the establishment of Christianity, but occurs already in the Old Testament, and it is in general incorrect to apply some of the tenets of that book specially for the adornment of Christianity. In short, it must be admitted, that heathen, and in general, non-Christian culture, has shown itself capable, in the regions into which it had been transplanted, to raise nations and countries from a lower to a higher and more humane existence, and make them, in many respects, civilized.

If we consider the historical position of Christianity as a power for culture, few will deny that when it became a living force in a nation it acted as a civilizing agent. It must, however, be granted that, wherever Christianity has made its appearance as a power, gaining nations, or ruling those already gained, it *never* and *nowhere* acted as the so-called *pure* Christianity, but always as a historical development of Christianity which was, in some manner, although, sometimes slightly, mixed with extraneous elements. Unmixed Christianity was in Jesus Christ alone. Although, according to the words of Christ (in Luke x, 16,) the apostles ought to be listened to

and they preached pure Christianity, their individuality must have been influenced by extraneous circumstances. Orthodox theologians admit that Paul was influenced by the Graeco-Rabbinical education of his time, which implies that in the foundation of Christian *culture* as such by this apostle, and still more by his disciples and successors, some not specially Christian influences, and not in the least hurtful to them, must have co-operated. It may here be observed that as far as the mission of the apostles is concerned, that Paul excepted, but few of them left any lasting traces of the injunction in Mat. xxviii, 19, to "teach all nations." What can be replied when it is alleged that Paul was a Hellenist, and that his success, as well as his civilising position, must be attributed to the connection of Christianity with corresponding Greek education? We shall here chiefly concern ourselves with *that* Christianity which we have received as barbarians, long after the time of the apostles. It must simply be admitted that it was not pure Christianity. The New Testament, the pure document of pure Christianity, was in the hands of but few persons, and to this circumstance alone are we indebted that genuine Christianity has sprung up and bloomed. When the question turns upon Christian culture, the prevalence of the New Testament is the standard by which its genuineness is measured. There was a leaven of Christian culture in the earlier times, but to assert that the civilization of the Middle Ages was due only to that source, and therefore purely Christian, would be simply ridiculous. Any one making such an assertion could have no idea of Christian-Roman, of ancient-Roman, or of mediæval culture with its laws, political life, &c., or of Greek philosophy, all of which influenced Christian theology, and whatever else is to be taken into consideration. Accordingly the Christianity into which the converted nations during the Middle Ages were incorporated, contained foreign ingredients, and mediæval Christian culture was not *purely* Christian.

Protestants feel highly flattered and are pleased when they hear, even from Catholics, that the countries of the former excel those of the latter in civilization, and well they may; but men of education who oppose every kind of Christianity, reply—"Protestants are indebted for this superiority not to evangelical *Christianity*, but to the spirit of the times by which they have been influenced, and which the Catholics have excluded." This verdict accounts for the inferiority of Catholic civilization, but implies no praise of Protestantism as a religion; considering the indisputable merits of Catholicism with reference to civilization during the Middle Ages. It also implies that Catholicism which has remained stationary at an earlier standpoint, is in itself not repugnant to civilization. If

however, the relation of evangelical Christianity to culture be considered more closely, it will be found that although it is not correct to consider the reformation only as a part of the general intellectual revolution designated by the name of "revival of learning" or *Renaissance*, it can nevertheless not be denied that the reformation cannot have been something isolated and entirely separated from the total intellectual commotion. The reformers have become what they were, only by Christian religious life and by the Bible; but they were nevertheless *also* the children of the age in which they lived, and influenced by the movement of civilization which was not specially Christian. They, indeed, brought the Bible, the kernel of Christianity, and made it the only standard of what is to be believed or taught, but the manner in which they exhibited this kernel, and much of what agglomerated itself around it, was influenced also by other than specially Christian ingredients. Accordingly the evangelical culture thus planted in the countries which had accepted the reformation, was not the product of evangelical Christianity alone.

Is the case of the modern promulgation, defence, and propagation of Christianity different? Is the Christianity of the nineteenth century, professed by orthodox theologians as set forth in the Bible, entirely pure and unmixed? Do not non-Christian elements of culture enter into every course of education, ecclesiastical as well as secular? Believers also are children of the nineteenth century; Europeans, Americans, &c. Christian thought, speech and life also have been invaded by many ideas, which a Christian spirit may consecrate but does not produce. The civilization at present enjoyed by Christian nations, which missionaries help to convey to non-Christian peoples, cannot be considered to be the fruit of Christianity alone. The fact is undeniable, that what we Christians possess of the culture of our age and communicate to others, we possess and communicate not only as Christians, but also as educated Europeans, Americans, &c. We desire to have a classical education, but "classical" is not synonymous with "Christian." We may, as cultivated men, do everything in a Christian spirit, but it has materially and technically nothing in common with the occupations of road-making or typography, the sciences of geography or philology, &c., wherefore it would be absurd to attribute all such merits of civilization to Christianity. When Christianity operated as a civilizing agent, it became mixed up with non-Christian elements; on the other hand, many individuals, nominally Christian, as well as societies, nations, and states have, from non-Christian and often from decidedly anti-Christian motives done a great deal for civilization abroad as well as at home.

The two questions, what is Christianity? and what is culture? are often asked. As to the first, the reply is that, at least from the evangelical standpoint, there exists an absolutely binding authority and standard of Christianity, namely, the New Testament, and the second we shall endeavour to solve as follows :—

The ideas of culture, civilization, education, &c., deal with the relations of the *mind* towards *nature*, and more particularly the manner in which the latter is to be influenced by the former. Changing and not quiescent relations of mind to nature are always meant; culture, education, &c., imply according to their definitions, something which is developing itself; wherefore according to the character of every human and historical development, the individual and social factors must commingle, but their connection may take place in various ways. But the relations between mind and nature determine in some manner, the ideas of morality and religion, and, according to our conviction, only these two produce the correct relations of mind to nature, and therefore also true culture. According to a purely human point of view also, religion and morality are subject to change and development. According to Genesis 1, 26, the task of culture is allotted to all mankind, when, however, the arrangements of political and social order in its various forms (such as family, society, people, state) are chiefly concerned, the task of culture is named *civilization*, which implies also the raising of human society from the rude, so called, state of nature, in which matter, brutal force and arbitrariness prevail, to a moral condition, without which co-operation in any society becomes impossible. The intrinsic value of these forms depends, however, upon the degree of intellectual development which a generation may have attained. Therefore the idea of culture, civilization, and moral condition, is a perpetually changing one.

The case is similar with the idea of *education*. It means the governing of nature through the mind by individuality (which is of course impossible without the influence of the universal factor of culture). Here also, as well as in culture, two sides have to be considered, namely, the esthetic, inasmuch as nature, that is to say the physical, becomes an expression, a symbol of the mind, and the teleological, inasmuch as the physical becomes an organ, or instrument by which the mind works. In both respects *language* is above all the most important medium and characteristic of education; because it points in the most instructive manner to the commingling of the universal and of the individual ingredient of education. There exists no language which is *only* individual; nevertheless, he alone is educated who possesses an individual

language which he has made his own, and formed into an artistic structure, corresponding to the disposition of his mind, &c ; thus it also appears that true education is essentially individual. So called universal education in a man is then not a contradiction, when his individual character is so constituted, as to be able gradually, by organic growth, more and more to appropriate or to assimilate to itself all that pertains to the real life of humanity. As, however, the real embracing of all the so-called ingredients of education is an impossibility, a receptive interest in, and an unshackled view of, the totality, but above all the totality of the intellectual life of mankind is to be considered as the most essential characteristic of real education. But the first requirements of the true education of an individual is to become wholly what he ought to be according to his vocation, talents, position, &c. This is the cause of the infinite variety of truly educated men, and therefore also of the possibility, to be more educated with reference to some aspects of life than to others ; and these various aspects have a different relation of value towards each other. Physical education if it at all deserves the name of "education" is inferior to mental, and in the latter the relations of esthetic, intellectual, emotional, &c., education may be determined very differently. But he only is an educated man who is open to all these sides of education according to the manner demanded by his individuality. Only in this sense of individuality may education, culture and liberty abide together in harmony. Modern levelling culture and education on the other hand are fraught with the danger of transforming man into a puppet, an ape, a hypocrite, or a slave ; especially the education directed to culture *only*, may make him essentially a slave to *form*. When the idea of humanity or of the human mind is conceived, merely as the commingling or the union of all the qualities constituting personality, excluding or allowing no central preponderance to the one or the other of the chief factors of humanity (according to our view the moral and the religious) then the idea of the human mind becomes something essentially *formal* ; and the necessarily resulting preponderance of the intellectual factor is itself only something *formal*. Then *mere* education is according to its conception something merely *formal* ; it is the frame to the *figure* of the man's mind ; so that the greater the remissness of imparting to the mind the contents, the filling in, due to it, will become either mere formal *enlightenment*, or even mere *polish*, nay, varnish, under the cover of which the crudest and most unspiritual nature prevails. The culture which strives to make such mere education its common property has for its purpose and end only *the* governing of the creature by man ; the *how*



and the *wherefore*, however, are not furnished by the mind, but by the unspiritual human nature, by the flesh. *Such* education, and *such* culture is immorality, and is of far less value than natural coarseness, which is informal but possesses substantial force.

It appears from what has been said, that it is of questionable utility to attribute too much value to mere culture and education, but also on the other hand, that culture and education become of the highest value to mankind and to individuals, when morality and religion impart to them that substance and force, and assign to them that purpose without which they are not genuine culture and education, that is to say, such as really suit human beings. But also in this respect we must be on our guard from exaggerations. As far as *morality* is concerned, it points out to the individual, and to mankind, as the highest end to what we call "the good," no matter what the closer definition of this idea may be. This highest end does not exclude the relative ends of culture and education which are subservient to it; they affirm it and are bound up under its leadership. Morality itself is a kind of education, a raising of human life up to, and a fitting it into, the ideal, its end, and in the first instance according to *one* disposition, namely the moral disposition of man; accordingly moral education is something progressing alongside the other educations, *e.g.* the esthetic, and the intellectual education. But as this disposition (together with the religious one) is the central one, moral education contains at least the force and the claim of being *the* education itself. As moral education it is, however, itself something *which is being developed*; and not every moral man is already a morally, thoroughly educated human being, although he possesses the force and the impulse to become so. Thus we must certainly say that all the other dispositions of human nature attain their normal formation only through morality, in the same way as the latter conceived in its perfection, presupposes such a normal formation of all the dispositions; and thus the ideas, to be truly moral, and to be truly educated, are one. In the empirical formation of human life, however, these two branches, namely that of morality (or moral education) and that of (the general) education, are relatively separate, and by no means progress simultaneously. In the concrete there may be a great deal of morality without corresponding (usual general) education, and education without corresponding morality; and the latter, without education, is a kernel without a shell, whilst education, without morality is a shell without a kernel. By this, however, a positive and a privative non-existence of the one and of the other is to be distinguished. Morality without education is, in the merely privative sense,

still morality ; whereas morality without education, in a negative, absolute sense, is inconceivable ; a really moral man always possessess also the most needful degree of education, because his centre is or becomes educated ; or, in other words, there are moral men who are " not educated," but none who are positively uneducated barbarians. Positive absence of education is immoral when it implies a positive scorn of civilization which leads the mind to subjugate nature. On the other hand, education without morality, conceived in the privative sense, is possible, and occurs relatively and transiently, so that a man of this kind may yet be considered educated ; to this class belong thousands of our age, who cannot be designated in a strict sense as moral characters, but neither as directly immoral, and whom it would be absurd to consider as uneducated. On the other hand a positively immoral individual is also always positively uneducated, because he directly despises the dominion of mind over nature ; such a person is far beneath an uneducated but moral man. All this is naturally also applicable to the culture and morality of nations. Thus, there are civilized nations which are relatively not moral ; but a nation of culture with positive immorality, that is to say in which immorality is the dominant power, ceases to be a nation of culture. There are nations which morally occupy a high position, but are relatively without culture, that is to say in a state of nature ; but nations in a state of nature with positive and complete absence of culture, *e. g.*, such as do not work at all, &c., are immoral.

But as far as religion is concerned, it differs in its conception from morality in the same manner as Theonomy (God-law) is distinguished from Autonomy (self-law). Both these are in their original form (chiefly in the conscience) one, and the perfection of both is again unity, namely religious morality and absolutely moral religion. Again, in the historical, empirical development or evolution of the individual as well of society, both relatively diverge or separate, and here also a merely privative and a direct and absolutely negative relation is to be distinguished. Collating this, with what has been stated on the relation of education to morality, we say :—Positively conscious, wilful and obstinate irreligion is immorality and therefore also uneducatedness ; but mere privative non-religiousness (as also irreligion which is a mere stage of transition in the inner process of development) may co-exist with morality and education. There are, indeed, moral and educated men who are not pious, whilst a positively impious individual, *e. g.*, a declared atheist, who is merely in a state of transition and does not definitively persevere in atheism, fighting against religion, may, in the full meaning of the word, be still called a moral and educated man. On the other hand, religion cannot, indeed,

co-exist with positive immorality and uneducatedness, but may with an absence of morality and education. This holds good for the relation between religion and morality at least temporarily; deficient morality being subject to development, or manifesting itself in single acts, is not necessarily a sign that religiousness does not exist; but as to the relation between religion and education, the privatively conceived possibility of the existence of the former without the latter in general only holds good, because no man can be really pious without being really educated. In its perfection, however, religiousness is the highest morality and the highest education.

Culture and education are of purely human growth and not the exclusive privilege of Christianity; moreover, also, according to Christian doctrine "in every nation he that feareth him (*i. e.*, God) and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." (Acts x. 35). History and literature bear abundant witness how far heathen nations had progressed, and if Christian missionaries find some of them morally degenerate, all of them have not sunk equally deep, nor can it be denied that here and there some Christian nations are likewise found in a lamentable moral condition. Therefore, we say—Like culture and education so also (general) religiousness and morality are everywhere of human origin, and may be planted also by non-Christian labour; it is accordingly wrong, without duly weighing facts, to conclude from the religious, moral, and civilizing effects of Christianity, that Christianity *alone* can produce culture.

If we consider the special essence of Christianity, its *contrast* to culture will at once strike us. All culture is noble, but temporal; is only of temporal growth, and aims at temporal ends. This is sufficiently announced in the fundamental passage on culture, in Gen. I., 20. This passage is not of the New Testament, and really does not designate a specially Christian but a general human task. The special import and task of the Gospel and of Christianity in its genuine and particular tendency has directly nothing to do with all this. It desires to win souls for the *eternal, future kingdom of God* and nothing more. To save poor lost men from the guilt and bondage of sin, and to prepare them for a heavenly, not for a terrestrial kingdom, is the special problem of the evangel and nothing else. It demands and effects that those who believe in it, should live on earth as citizens who have their conversation (*politeuma*, Phil. iii, 20) in heaven, and faithfully and honestly discharge their duties as the Gospel prescribes them on earth towards God, the family, and the state, whilst their hearts are in heaven. The Gospel approves of terrestrial work of every kind, and therefore also of the labour of civilization, not however as its *own*, not as a specially Christian duty, but as a school of preparation and

transition for those who are to belong to the kingdom of heaven. True Christians fulfil in the spirit of Christ, humbly, quietly, faithfully, obediently all their duties as fathers, citizens, officials, &c., not however as Christians, but as men, husbands, Englishmen, Frenchmen, &c. This may be called a dualistic, ethic conception of the world, which draws a sharp line of separation between the political law and the Gospel, between the State and the Church, but it is the only conception sanctioned by the New Testament. Modern temporal tendency is most dangerous when it meddles also with Christian views, thus, for instance, when it endeavours in its present ideas of a Christian State, &c., to make of Christianity a terrestrial power, and a panacea of all the evils which flesh is heir to.

The defenders of the theory of temporal Christianity always appeal to the passage that, "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come," 1. Tim iv. 8. If this is to mean that Christianity does and can remedy everything that pertains to terrestrial life, then all uneducated Christians, all who lead a miserable life without the blessings and joys of civilization, all who are sick, unjustly persecuted, defamed, scorned, and, lastly, all those for whom Jesus Christ has come, would be deprived of the most important and significant fruits of Christianity. In the above passage "the life that now is" has nothing to do with civilization, and means existence in the full meaning of the word, the communion with God, its enjoyment and its strength which the Christian feels already in the present life as an earnest and a foretaste of that which is to come.

If a true Christian can even in the specially Christian sphere not become forthwith an educated man, it is obvious that general education, and therewith the capacity for the labour of culture, can by no means be attributed to him merely because he is a Christian, but the spirit which he has received impels him to appropriate to himself as much of general culture as his duty requires and his strength allows, using on the one hand the sphere of culture as a means for the purpose of his Christianity, and on the other exhibiting his Christianity also in this sphere. As the individual, so also the community, has duties to perform, but it must likewise be educated in the Christian sense. And as education results in culture, it follows that Christian society could exert, and does exert, culture in a gradually rising progress only, exerting it in a Christian spirit compatible with the duties due to the community, and making also, in this manner, culture subservient to the ends of Christianity. It is an undeniable fact that the spirit of no other religion has been able to appropriate, and to make subservient to itself the whole wide field of civilization, like the

spirit of Christianity. This fact does not, however, imply the purification of culture from the stains adhering to it in consequence of the sinful development of humanity, because culture is essentially human, terrestrial and temporal with all its products. Hence the absurdity of speaking of "Christian music," because Bach, or Handel or Mendelssohn have enrolled music in the service of Christianity in their respective compositions on the Passion, the Messiah, and Paul. Music is only music and nothing more, and in this sense Bach's Passion is just like any other piece of music capable of producing the same degree of esthetic pleasure. Thus, poetry is poetry, science is science, architecture is architecture, whether it be Christian or not.

We have said before, that no purely Christian and no "pure civilization" is in existence. Every civilization is the offspring of its own time, and therefore impregnated with the influence of its own sin; nor is every civilization subservient only to what is godly and noble, but also to what is ungodly and impure in the human race. Moreover, these two ingredients are so finely interwoven, that it is quite impossible to separate them wholly. Who would, for instance, pretend that our *modern culture*, the culture of the nineteenth century, represents and offers only that which is pure and noble in mankind, or perhaps, that it is an unmixed Christian civilization? The latter assertion would, in our opinion, imply that this civilization is fit to be wholly appropriated by the Christian spirit, and to be enlisted in its service. But the real and the high representatives of modern culture are, with exceptions that are disappearing, either consciously or unconsciously non-Christians, and partly avowed anti-Christians. Even apart from the influence of the just mentioned men, the circumstance alone that sometimes, within the limits of a Christianised district, culture *alone* is aimed at, and that Christianity is ignored (although other noble sentiments may prevail) imparts something un-Christian to culture. And this non-Christian spirit to which modern culture generally pays homage, pervades everything; it cannot be kept off, supplanted by the Christian spirit, or extirpated; therefore the Christianization of modern culture is impossible. The Christian representatives of culture may indeed oppose and mitigate the influence of unchristian progress in the *education of individuals*, but not in its development, which aims at overwhelming the whole world with its general spirit. Every kind of modern civilization has its unchristian accretions and lateral effects, which more or less detract from the chief purpose at which Christianity aims; thus even missionaries who propagate it, find that their converts learn therewith superfluous luxuries of civilization of which they never dreamt nor felt any need before. Luxury being so closely allied to civilization, it is futile to hope that the latter

can be introduced among untutored nations without the bane of the former ; there are even examples when the Bible, brandy and bullets have become simultaneously known to Africans. Such experiences ought to teach the propagators of Christianity to estimate the civilizing side of their labours very modestly and soberly, as they are after all only a mixture of Christianity and worldliness. There are, of course, Christians and missionaries who bring to various nations the Gospel only ; being however also men and representatives of European culture, they bring culture also, or finding it in a degenerated state, as *e. g.*, among the Chinese, they raise it to a better position. As far as the work of civilization, the material of it, is concerned, that is carried into foreign countries by the representatives of European modern civilization, namely nominal or real Christians. When worldlings, as often happens in our times, attribute meritorious labours in the cause of civilization to missions, it is merely a sign of the times at which earnest Christians only grieve, because according to Luke, vi, 22-26 the disciples of Christ are not to expect this praise. All culture presupposes an unconverted man, whom it endeavours to ennoble, to raise, and to spiritualize as much as possible ; but Christianity seeks in converting him *chiefly* his spiritual, not his physical welfare, and his prosperity not in this, but in the next world. This radical difference between Christianity and civilization is sometimes not perceived, but when it is, the reproach of enmity towards civilization is not seldom hurled at genuine Christianity ; if the apostles suffered themselves to be called fools for Christ's sake, their successors are not always spared the name of semi-barbarian, or barbarian, as far as the higher sciences and arts are concerned, although at home and abroad they appear among uncultured men naturally as representatives also of civilization. The motive from which Christians engage in the labours of civilization is philanthropy, although this is not a sentiment peculiar to Christianity alone ; it has been inculcated already in the Old Testament, and some Pagan religions likewise preach benevolence not only to our fellow-beings but to all living creatures. That, however, which is from a purely Christian standpoint considered to be the highest education, namely, the spiritual regeneration of man, is the special effect of the Christian doctrine, and is not included in the category of general civilization, which although inculcated already in Genesis, i, 26, is the result of human nature only with the forces and impulses inherent therein. These forces and impulses, or instincts, decidedly produce higher results when they are enlisted in the service of the Christian spirit, and above all of Christian love ; but to expect Christianity, which will always be professed by only a small minority of the human race, and which is antagonistic to worldliness (Math. x 34) to become a panacea to cure all

evils, physical and moral, that beset our race, would be a grievous mistake. Nevertheless, amiable enthusiasts are of that opinion, and M. de Lamennais appeared to believe that "justice with love and peace and liberty" will prevail among all nations. On this idea, he expatiates in his *Paroles d'un croyant* beautifully as follows:—

"When after a long dearth gentle rain falls upon the earth, it drinks up with avidity the water of heaven which refreshes and fertilises it.

"Thus the thirsty nations will drink with avidity the word of God when it will descend upon them like a vernal shower.

"And justice with love, and peace and liberty will sprout in their bosom.

"And it will be as at the time when all were brothers, and the voice of the master or the slave, the groans of the poor or the sighs of the oppressed will be heard no more ; but songs of joy and of benediction.

"Fathers will say to their sons:—Our first days were troubled, full of tears and anguish. Now the sun rises and sets to our joy. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!

"And mothers will say to their daughters:—Look at our foreheads which are so calm at present ; grief, pain, distress formerly ploughed deep furrows on them. Your own are like the surface of a lake which no breeze disturbs in springtime. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!

"And young men will say to young maidens:—You are beauteous like the flowers of the fields, pure like the dew which refreshes them, like the light which colours them. It is sweet to us to see our fathers, it is sweet to us to be with our mothers ; but when we behold you, and when we are with you, something passes in our souls, which has no name but in heaven. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!

"And the young maidens will reply:—Flowers wither, they pass away ; a day arrives when neither the dew refreshes nor the light colours them any more. On earth virtue alone never withers nor passes away. Our fathers are like the ear of corn which fills itself with grain towards autumn, and our mothers like the vine that loads itself with grapes. It is sweet to us to see our fathers, it is sweet to us to be with our mothers, and the sons of our fathers and of our mothers are sweet to us likewise. Praised be God, who has shown us these blessings before we die!"

What a beautiful picture, but how unlike our age in which nations are constantly armed against nations, and man instead of loving his fellow man, endeavours to outwit him by fair means or foul, as if his gospel were *Homo homini lupus est*, and

not, "love thy neighbour as thyself." This, it seems, was not perceived by another living French author of some celebrity, who thus describes the stage of mental development which humanity has now attained :—"I call *modern spirit* in religion and politics, the great resultant of the intellectual and political movement, which, latent and obscure during the first centuries of the Middle Age, has developed itself since the twelfth century in a continuous manner, and has found its definite formula in 1789. What was proclaimed during that year, was the advent of humanity to its conscience, it was the act of majority of the human mind taking possession of its sovereignty, it was the advent of reason to the organizing and reforming power, which chance, passion, or the unknown causes obscurely classed under the name of Providence, had hitherto arrogated to themselves. The sovereignty of reason, the rational organization of society by reflection, this is all the modern spirit." In a footnote, however, the author adds, that the French revolution marks neither so important an era, nor was so beneficent in its results, as he believed when he wrote the above passage, but that, nevertheless, what he says in it concerning the modern spirit, remains true according to his opinion.

It will not be denied that religion influences the intellectual and moral development of a man according to the manner in which he accepts it. A faith which may apparently be irreconcilable with free development, nevertheless improves and strengthens a man if he will only make use of his reason, but if not, even an apparently higher faith will crush him when he accepts it merely as a yoke emanating from an official authority which he dare not question. A religion which would impose upon us the duty of not reflecting on supernatural matters, and on our destiny, would compel us to cripple the faculties of our mind.

The power which civilized man has during the present age acquired over physical nature is certainly wonderful, but this progress in conquering the obstacles which matter opposes to him, is then only of the highest order, when it aids him in the fulfilment of his ideal mission. An act of virtue, a noble sentiment, or a beautiful thought, make man much more the sovereign of the creation than his power to send instantaneously a message to the end of the world, or to hold conversation through the telephone at a considerable distance from his correspondent. The sovereignty of man is much more in the soul, and was better represented according to its spirit by the sages on the tops of the Himalayas, and the ascetics of the Egyptian desert, although they were in many respects slaves to physical nature, than by the materialists of our age who subjugate matter, and change the surface of the globe without comprehending the divine meaning of life. The sadness and philosophy of those ancients were charms superior to our vulgar



pleasures, and their very aberrations are more honourable to human nature, than so many lives purporting to be useful but spent in endeavours to attain wealth, and in the insignificant struggles of vanity. A great error is committed in the present theory of education, which refuses to acknowledge that besides special sciences which have a positive application, there is also a general culture, intended to form only the intellectual and moral man. Hitherto morality has almost entirely escaped the utilitarian system of our Indian universities and appears to be a mere luxury and ornament.

The perfection of mechanical arts, which are the boast of our age, may be allied to great moral and intellectual depression. We do not pretend to say that such is the case in our times ; no century can show as many cultivated intellects as ours, but real progress has been accomplished by few only, and, in this sense, the general physiognomy of our age is less noble than that of former times. The world in reality contains more intellectual and moral education than ever ; but the noble portions no longer occupy the first rank, and yield their supremacy to secondary interests. Philosophy and science will pursue their objects for ever without reaching the coveted goal but religion and morality are the emphatically serious things and are sufficient to impart a meaning and a scope to life ; how far these serious things, as represented in the Bible, may influence nations so as to lead the van of civilization has been but recently expressed, in a new and perhaps more striking manner than usual, by an Italian writer whose words we here translate :—"The nation which covers the seas with its fleets, which extends its power over so great a portion of the world, which colonises vast deserts and inhospitable regions, which causes the whistles of its railways to resound among, and transmits its thoughts by the telegraph to, barbarous and savage nations whom it educates, establishing there schools, academies, the press, liberty ; this nation, the English nation is emphatically Bibliomaniac, the worship of the Bible is its private and its public worship. All the institutions and laws are in harmony with the Bible, and therefore the people have never dreamt of accepting either the code of Napoleon or so many laws of the continent. . . . And is not that other nation the first-born son of old Albion as emphatically Bibliomaniac, and has it not always rejected the code of Napoleon as well as the laws manufactured on the opposite shores of the ocean ? In spite of all that, it has within a brief period of time increased like the stars of the firmament, has become such a colossus, that it presented within the past year 1882, a mileage of 11,200 kilometres of railways, whilst the States had been paying off 700 millions of debts."

E. REHATSEK.

## ART. II.—RAILWAY RATES.

ONE of the effects of the present depression of trade is a revival of the crusade against railway rates and railway monopoly generally, and the old accusations and old remedies are re-appearing in the press and at public meetings, to the evident alarm of railway directors. It is not necessary to discuss here, whether the so-called "depression of trade" is real or assumed. The report of the Royal Commission has not thrown much light on the subject, but it appears more than probable that while, as is admitted, the volume of business is still as large as ever, the profits are being divided with agents and middlemen, and that consequently grouse moors and steam yachts are not so easily obtained as formerly.

A book has recently appeared by a very competent authority\* in which the case for the railways has been very thoroughly and carefully placed before the public. It is obviously, indeed professedly, one-sided, but is written so temperately, that it is certain to secure considerable attention, and perhaps produce some effect in the coming struggle. The facts and arguments advanced by Mr. Grierson will not, as he appears to anticipate, go far towards convincing those who are clamouring most loudly; but as he urges, these consist of people who have not taken the trouble to gauge the many difficulties of the problem and are not likely to do so, but who will be content with making a noise in the hope that "something will be done," and that to their advantage. The subject is one that has more than a general interest for Indian readers. Our railway system is entering, as I have pointed out elsewhere, on an era of competition which, though trifling as compared with what is going on in Europe and the United States, will result in making great changes in our export trade, and in the relative position with regard to it of our few large seaports. Calcutta, Bombay and Kurachi are already keenly competing for the trade of Upper India, and enlisting the help of railways and their differential rates, while Madras seems destined to be before long little more than a provincial harbour. The new port Marmogoa, on the western coast, will, if cheap, be able to make a good bid for a share of the Bombay trade, but it is not in a position to affect what may be termed the "triangular duel" between the three first named ports for the bulk of the export trade. Before, however, dealing with the subject as affecting us in India, it

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\* Railway rates, English and Foreign : J. Grierson E. Stafford, Charing Cross.

may be as well to go briefly over some of Mr. Grierson's views. His main thesis is laid down in his first chapter, *viz.*, that railway administrations (in England) "need be apprehensive only, of a vague uninstructed notion that something must be done; of legislation adopted, if not in a panic, in a time of greatly depressed trade, of crude one-sided proposals . . . . and of the application of a standard of perfection supposed to exist somewhere, but in truth nowhere realized." This is not improbably an accurate sketch of a good deal of the present movement, but the author knows well that the world is governed somehow with an uncommonly small amount of wisdom and "fools step in," and hold on, too, on ground which the "angels" won't look at, and he therefore proceeds to go carefully over the whole field of dispute, demolishing each objection and arriving practically at the comforting conclusion, that everything that is, is good, and that railway managers, at any rate, know their own business.

The first point to bear in mind, and one which singularly enough seems to be generally overlooked, is that railways regarded simply as commercial investments, must pay their way, or if this very necessary result is to be endangered, that the State must be prepared to acquire their property on equitable terms. The railways in the United Kingdom can urge, at any rate, that in spite of their "monopolies" and their "excessive" rates, they have as yet on the average paid no extraordinary dividends. Their average receipts for the last dozen years has not been  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and on 48 millions of the ordinary capital as pointed out by Mr. Grierson, no dividend at all is forthcoming; while the Company he is connected with, the Great Western, one of the largest and most powerful in England, and controlling nearly 2,500 miles of line, has only paid an average dividend of £3-15-0 per cent. during the last thirty years. The reply to this might be that with more economy in construction and working, less fighting, and perhaps with more definite control by the State, the returns would have been very much better, and that the lowering of rates would probably have still further improved matters by creating new sources of traffic. No mercy either to trader or consumer is to be expected from those who, like Mr. Grierson, hold that in the matter of transport merchandize should be made to pay all it can afford, and that "any other principle is no principle." Put in other words, this may mean that on a line, or portion of a line, on which there is no effective competition, if a certain profit can be made and certain customers quieted by carrying, say 1,000 tons, at say one penny per ton per mile, no thought need be taken as to whether by carrying, say 2,500 tons at half this rate, the same profit can be realized. The needs of distant traders,

of the consumer ; and the idea of the general prosperity of the realm may be thrust aside as of no moment compared with that of the railway concerned. Such a doctrine places us face to face with the question so often raised at the present day, *viz.*, whether in the broad and general interests of the State it is necessary or even advisable, that the dividend shall be the sole test of the utility and sufficiency of a railway. The question will be answered in the negative by those who are prepared to take a broad view of the functions of a Government, and the whole policy of continental nations in railway matters and in some degree of our Indian Government is based on this view.

The defence of what are variously termed special, differential, competitive, or "war" rates, takes up many pages of Mr. Grierson's work. He shews not only that they are a necessity, both to traders and consumers in England and elsewhere ; but that in continental States where the railways belong, either absolutely or partly, to the Government, or are more strictly controlled than with us, such rates are not only tolerated but are recognised and properly regulated. The objections to them come naturally enough from producers within short distances of markets. They find it hard to understand why goods carried for, say 100 miles, should pay higher rates than those which are carried 1,000 miles, and the superficial equity of the demand has given it many supporters. But the cry for "equal mileage rates" is founded on ignorance of the technical details of railway working. As pointed out by the author, "mileage run is only one element out of many in the cost of service." The character of the gradients, that of the return traffic, and its amount, the price of coal, the amount of shunting, and many other essential factors, have to be considered ; and again the incidence of fixed charges, such as for station staff and administration are practically in no way influenced by mileage run.

Station-masters and pointsmen must be on duty, and must be paid, whether one train or ten trains pass them daily. If a fair profit is obtained by both trader and carrier between two points A. and B., on a certain rate per ton, there is no essential injustice in quoting the same rate to C., for say double the distance, if the operation still yields a small profit to the carrier and meets the requirements of traffic from that point. To establish equal mileage rates, would undoubtedly promptly reduce the tonnage and the usefulness of any railway, for, "unless a very low scale of rates were adopted, entailing heavy loss, much of the long distance traffic would cease to be carried." The export of food-grains from India or from the United States, over the immense distances, it is now carried between the place of production, and the seaboard is only rendered possible by rates which twenty years ago would have been

thought impossible to consider remunerative, but which nevertheless have, at any rate apparently so far, shown no loss. It has, however, yet to be seen whether such rates as are now in force on the North-Western and East Indian Railways of two pies per ton per mile, will suffice to cover cost of wear and tear of stock and permanent way. This rate is as low as some of the through export rates on American railways; but these again we have no assurance that such "war" rates are profitable, or that due allowance has been made for maintenance, even taking into account, which is very necessary, that the American railways have cost on the average, probably much less than our Indian lines. The whole question, as has been already observed, has been dealt with by Mr. Grierson from one point of view, *viz.*, that railways as commercial investments, must be worked on a commercial basis, and must be made to pay directly. Our English railways being, without exception, the property of companies, this is a natural and legitimate position to take, but he goes still further, to a point to which he cannot be accompanied, in assuming that the prosperity of railway companies implies also that of the trader, and consequently that of the nation. It is sufficient to glance over his book, to see plainly that this cannot be the view of most European countries, in so far that they have reserved very ample powers of control over lines which have been conceded to companies, and have in many cases absorbed the bulk of the railways as State works. The conception of the function of such enterprises on the continent is, in fact, that they are very important monopolies affecting the whole inland carrying trade of a country, and consequently largely influencing the general prosperity of the nation, and the tendency is to withdraw the control of such monopolies from private agencies, and to concentrate them in a more or less degree under a department of the State. This view is gaining ground in England, and has been, though rather fitfully, plainly indicated in the policy of the Indian Government with regard to its railway system; but unfortunately our financial exigencies in this country due in a large measure to loss in exchange on home remittances, has forced our Government to look to the direct profits from their railways as source from which to diminish their deficits, and has consequently made it necessary to defer the fulfilment of any intention that may have existed, of looking to their indirect profits as a material factor in the returns from their investments. In this urgent need for revenue from all and every source, it is not easy to comprehend the present policy of making over the construction and the working of our railways to "assisted" or guaranteed companies with a share of the profits. For what service it may be, indeed, it is frequently asked, is this surrender made? The only reply

that can be offered is, that it is in return for the service of raising money in the London market, an operation which could be more readily effected directly by the Government, and on easier terms. The character and extent of the control to be exercised over such companies, judging by recent contracts, must practically fall far short of what is needed, if India is to keep pace with other competitors for the trade of the world, or for the proper development of her agricultural production. We are in fact still governed by the fear that the administration of railways by the State may become too large a business, or, that following the ideas of some English writers, it is a business in which a Government cannot be successful. But this is not borne out by facts, and if it became a question as to whether Indian railways had been most generally well managed by companies, or by the officers of Government on State lines, it would probably be found that the latter would have a very good show of hands. The political, fiscal, and administrative objections which are offered in England against State railways, have no validity in this country, and indeed the character of the people, their keen appreciation of the personal or direct action of the "Sircar," coupled with a timid and essentially conservative nature, might well be held to make it almost necessary, that the Government should have unusual, if not complete, power of control over railways in India. The "interests of the shareholders" are not likely to run generally parallel with those who use our Indian railways. The struggle of the shareholders or his agents is for dividend, no matter how made or how large, and the rates which will produce this even up to the maxima allowed under contracts, will be levied regardless of any other object. We are, it is true, to reap our share of this harvest; but this may be dearly got, if it has resulted in strangling some trades altogether, or in general terms, in carrying, say 1,000 tons where 3,000 tons should have been carried with no appreciably less profit. The mute millions we have to deal with, are very feebly represented by the few pushing traders to be found at our principal stations, and are widely different from the eager, assertative clients of railways in Europe, who, whether it is a company or a government to be dealt with, soon find means of making their wants known and their grievances heard. The arrangement made between the Secretary of State and the Indian Midland Company is the most recent, and perhaps the best that can be made short of the absolute construction and working of a line by the State. The line belongs to the Government, and is to be surrendered on repayment of capital outlay in 1910, or in decennial periods after this, and the right is reserved to fix rates and fares from time to time within maxima and minima. For this the Company receives four

per cent. during the continuance of the agreement, and is entitled to one-quarter of the net profits earned over and above this rate of interest. The contract practically makes the Company the agent of the Government for the expenditure on the construction of the line to an extent which must have, and has indeed, involved the appointment of a supervising officer of high standing, to control all designs and outlay. What advantages the Government obtains by this arrangement, it is hard to conceive, as compared with the direct construction and working of the line by its own officers. The capital has been raised at a figure of interest higher by a quarter or even a half per cent., than it could have been got by the Secretary of State direct in the London market, a staff has been employed on the line on far higher salaries than are paid in the Public Works Department, and a quarter of the net profits surrendered in the hope, and it is no more, that through the agency of a company the line may be worked with so much more vigour and skill as to make it worth while to give away a share in the probable increase. One result of this is to throw on the hands of Government a large number of railway officers trained in Indian work, who will now have nothing to do, and who, moreover, if disestablished, must be provided with pensions or gratuities. The arrangements with this Company and with others on the same lines, represent an endeavour to combine the rights of ownership and nearly complete control with the rights of a leaseholder, but it is an agreement in which the latter cannot possibly suffer loss and may, by a judicious secondary management from Calcutta, be enabled to make a further profit, though on grounds which it would be extremely difficult to justify. They will be to all intents lines managed by the State and belonging to the State, and by the stimulus of the chance of a quarter of the net earnings they are expected to exhibit an economy in working and a net return generally better than could be shewn by direct Government administration. It remains to be seen whether such arrangements will as the phrase is "work," or whether as seems probable the duplicate management on such conditions as are indicated in the contracts, will not end in trouble or failure. The mere adjustment and revision of rates in competition with other lines, will be a fruitful source of contention between the Government and the companies, and the tendency to carry out Mr. Grierson's maxim of making merchandize pay all it can afford, will inevitably characterize the action of the companies in all cases where no such competition exists. The experience of working with the East Indian Railway under its present agreement, affords an excellent illustration of this difficulty; but in cases where the realization of excess profits over the guaranteed interest is not, in any way so

certain as in this line, the struggles are likely to be bitter and prolonged.

Railway rates have already become an important factor in the economic progress of India, and are destined as our railway system extends to become a burning question, involving interests of the greatest magnitude. It will add infinitely to the difficulty of dealing with such matters if we are found drifting along between one policy and another, as has been done for the last twenty years. As it is, no official, high or low, can rely for more than a twelve month at a time on what the Government intends to do with our railway system. We have at the present day railways made and worked by the State, railways made by the State and leased to companies, railways made by companies assisted and unassisted, and railways made by Native States. These are partly controlled by local Governments, and partly by the Government of India. Some lines in a province are controlled by the local administration, others by the Director-General of Railways, and some by the Government of India direct. This means that questions of rates and administration generally on each are subject to revision or alteration by either or all of these authorities, and in the case of guaranteed lines they are still further hedged in and complicated by the need for reference to Boards of Directors at home. The administration of our Indian railways is in fact nothing better than a patchwork system, exhibiting glaring contrasts of policy, and held together and made to cover our necessities only by incessant references and decisions by the Government. These decisions will, as already observed, and especially in the case of competing lines, involve large interests, and it is very doubtful whether the existing machinery for their satisfactory evolution at present exists. We have the appointment of a Director-General of Railways, which has not always been filled by an officer of wide railway experience, and whose proper duties already heavy enough are greatly, if not hopelessly, increased by his being at the same time a Deputy Secretary to Government. However zealous and able a man may fill this position, it is impossible that he can with such a staff as he has at present, find time to examine and consider the information at hand, even if he can command the technical experience requisite for giving such advice to the Government as will carry due weight with railway companies or commercial men. The solution of this difficulty appears to lie in the establishment of a Railway Board for India, and though the impediments to this are by no means slight ones, it does not seem impossible to overcome them, and at any rate to give it a trial.

, H. B.

*March 1887.*



ART. III.—THREE SCENES FROM THE LIFE  
OF A GARO.

SINGRIN was a very fine man, but by no means a rich one. He possessed no cultivation of his own, beyond a small patch of land on which he grew a little cotton. He was, however, well content with his lot, as he always had enough to eat, and his tailor's bills were not heavy ; in fact, a few annas would at any time cover the expense of a new outfit, and he did not require one very often. A string of beads and a narrow strip of cloth provided him with all the clothing he required.

He did not, therefore, want a wife to attend to his wardrobe, and yet the want of a wife was the one grievance that prevented his life from being one of ideal happiness—the one crumpled rose leaf in his existence. A good stout wife to carry his basket for him, was the one thing necessary to make him perfectly happy.

Garo wives are not to be had for the asking, and having disposed of the ashes of the first young woman who had done him the honor to select him for her husband, he was obliged to wait until it pleased another to propose to him. The cruel fair, upon whom he had fixed his somewhat mercenary affections, had disregarded his advances, and asked another young Garo brave, to share her heart and home.

"I like Singrin well enough," she had wisely argued, "but if I marry him, I shall have to carry his basket, and if I marry Frang, I shall live in the station and have no basket to carry."

So she married Frang, who was a Dobashia (interpreter), and wore white cloths, and Singrin resigned himself to his fate. Some years passed, and no one fell in love with him. He was better looking than most of his countrymen, but good looks go for nothing amongst his people. Perhaps it was the fact of his having a beard that made the Garo girls shy about proposing to him ; beards being by no means common amongst their countrymen. Perhaps he did not pay them sufficient attention, or take the trouble to make himself agreeable to them. Garo girls are as partial to love-making as the rest of Eve's daughters, although they come of such a matter-of-fact unromantic race. They reserve to themselves the right of selecting their husbands, and it would be an unpardonable breach of Garo etiquette for the lover to pop the question, but they have no objection to his responding to their modest advances, or even to his openly making love to them.

Whatever may have been the cause, Singrin had found no

second wife, and lived on in the village Nokphantee, or Bachelor's Chummary, for several years. He would have been content to have lived there for the rest of his life, but for that one drawback—he had no one to carry his basket.

Whenever he had a load of raw cotton to take to the hāt for sale, he thought regretfully of his lonely state, and envied Frang for having a wife to carry his basket for him, if ever he required her to do it.

“Wah! wah!” he exclaimed one day as he toiled along the narrow footpath that led from his village to the station, with a well filled basket on his back. “How heavy this is, what a lucky man Frang is!”

Placing the objectionable burden on the ground, he sat down to rest. Presently Frang and his wife appeared in sight, both of them trudging along with baskets on their backs. Their countenances were far from cheerful, and the woman began to explain the reason of their sudden appearance on the scene with a high-toned volubility that spoke very plainly of angry disgust:—

“He has lost his place,” she said, as she impatiently freed her head from the strap that supported her basket, and placed it against the high bank at the side of the pathway. “He has been turned out, and it’s all his own fault. We have to go back to the village and work. We are carrying all our things there now. He has lost his place. I knew he would, he never would be careful. To think he should be so stupid as to let the Sahib find out that he was telling a lie.”

“Yes,” said poor Frang humbly, “it was very stupid of me. I did not think the Burra Sahib knew so much Garo. I only altered a few words when Rengrin was giving his evidence against Reshin. Reshin asked me not to repeat anything Rengrin said that might make the case go against him; if he won the case, he was to have given me—well, never mind, he won’t win the case now; the Burra Sahib found me out, and turned me off.”

“Who will take your place?” asked Singrin.

“I don’t know, and I don’t care. Whoever gets it, will be able to make a lot of money soon, for the Burra Sahib is going away, and the new Sahib will not understand any Garo for a long time.”

“And, you have lost the chance,” scolded his irate wife, “how could you be so.”

Never mind, never mind,” interrupted Singrin good temperedly, “it is no use making a noise about it now. Tell me Frang, is it very hard work that the Dobashias have to do?”

“Hard work!—it is the easiest thing in the world to be a Dobashia.”

“And you’ve lost it,” put in his wife.

“All you have to do,” he continued, “is to listen to what the witnesses say, and tell the Sahib as much of it as you like. These Sahibs don’t understand Garo when first they come up here, and you can tell them anything you like, but this Burra Sahib has learnt a good deal now, and can understand too much. The new one will not understand anything the witnesses say.”

“But is there no one who can tell him if you invent a lot of lies?”

“No one, the head clerk knows enough Garo to tell on us, and some of the constables; but it is no business of theirs, and I sent the head clerk all the wood he wanted and some baskets of cotton.”

“I can do that,” said Singrin, swinging his load on his back again. “Salaam, my friends, I am going to carry my cotton to the head clerk, and see if he will say a good word for me. I will be a Dobashia now, and you shall carry Frang’s basket for him Keree—salaam, salaam, I must hurry on, or I may be too late.”

#### FIVE YEARS LATER.

THE Deputy Commissioner’s Cutcherry was full of Garos. An important case was being heard, and considerable excitement prevailed. There was some hitch in the proceedings, some difficult piece of evidence to be clearly explained. The two Dobashias who were present, gave different interpretations of it, and the perplexed Deputy Commissioner endeavoured in vain to get to the bottom of the contradictory statements.

“Where is Singrin?” he exclaimed in despair; “he is the only man in the place who knows anything. Why he is not here?”

“Sir,” answered the head clerk gravely, “your honor gave him two days’ leave; he is about to marry a wife.”

“What a nuisance! How many wives does the fellow want? He has several already.”

“Sir, this woman is possessed of large cultivations.”

“When will he be back?”

“Sir, he will return to his duties to-morrow.”

“Then I shall put off the case until then. These two rascals are trying to make up their own cases; they have been bribed, I suppose. Singrin is the only one I can trust. He knows more about the language and the customs than anyone else in the hills.”

“He is the biggest rascal in the place, too,” thought the Deputy Commissioner as he walked slowly to his bungalow; “but I get the truth out of him, for he takes bribes from both sides, and does not care which wins. He stands to win whoever loses. He

will have both those men in his village this evening, and take all he can get from each of them ; but I shall get to the bottom of it all to-morrow. He knows better than to trim the cases now. I know the language too well—all but those wretched localisms. I wish I knew what that man meant to-day."

### TEN YEARS LATER.

"FRANG! come and have some liquor, sit down and listen to my *bājā*."

Singrin was lolling on a drawing-room couch, the rich covering of which contrasted curiously with the bamboo-walls and mud-floor of his hut. A gorgeous cap, embroidered in gold, rested on his well-oiled locks. His garments were spotlessly white, and his bare feet were thrust into a pair of native shoes of a singularly uncomfortable pattern. Immediately in front of him stood a large pier-glass in which he could see his manly form reflected, without taking the trouble to rise. At his elbow a lau (gourd) full of Garo liquor rested on a Gipsy table. At the further end of the hut, a plump young Garo woman was amusing herself and him by banging on an old piano with both hands. A group of women sat round her, lost in admiration of the fiendish sounds she extracted from the instrument, and some dozen or so of dusky babies, of all ages, crawled about the floor.

After taking a deep draught of the liquor, Frang seated himself on the ground by the couch.

"You are quite a big man now, Singrin," he remarked with a tinge of envy in his voice ; "you have made yourself like unto a rajah. All these houses belong to you ; where did you get the money to buy all these fine things ? Is the whole village yours ?"

Singrin nodded. "All are mine ; this is called Singrin's village."

"How did you get the money ?" asked Frang.

"I did not buy the houses," replied Singrin with a smile of self-satisfaction that was particularly galling to the unsuccessful man ; "my wives' relations built them. I earned the money for all the rest."

"But your pay is only——."

"My pay !" interrupted Singrin contemptuously, "as if my pay was all I earned. When first I came here that was all I earned, because I had to tell the truth carefully. When the Burra Sahib had learnt to trust me, I told, it when it suited me. Then I married a wife. She had property, and her relations were useful to me. I was lucky, a new Burra Sahib came, who did not know Garo, and I made a lot of rupees. But I was more careful than you were, and when he learnt

Garq, I only told a lie when I was sure he could not find it out. But I was useful ; that is the great thing. I married another wife, and her relations worked for me, and then a third, and a fourth. There is my fourteenth, playing the *bájá* like a lady. . All their relations work for me. They want houses, and their own people build them. They all have cultivations ; their own people work for them, and get their food for working."

"I can give the Burra Sahib all the labor he wants," he continued complacently. "He says, 'Singrin, I want forty coolies.' I send to my wives' villages and get them ; no one dares to say 'no' to me. I am too strong. He says, 'I want bamboos.' I send all my new relations to get them. He can't get on without me now."

"There is another new Burra Sahib coming soon," said Frang, with a grin of satisfaction. "He may be able to do without you."

Singrin smiled. "The Burra Sahib's head clerk owes me some money. The second clerk will be turned out if I go. I can tell on him. There is no one in the Burra Sahib's office who does not feel an interest in my remaining here as the head Dobashia. You see what it is to know when to lie safely, Frang. You lied at the wrong time, but I take care never to lie at all, unless it is safe, and then to do it boldly. If the new Burra Sahib does not want me, I can retire and be Burra Sahib, too. I have bought the Sahib's cows and his *bájá*, and his glass there ; don't I look grand in it ? and this thing I'm lying on. I can drink liquor every night, and have scores of women to make it, and to carry my baskets. Keree made a mistake when she married you, and you made one when you invented lies at the wrong time."

"And you will make a mistake, too, some day."

"No, I will make no mistake ; when I feel inclined to make one, I will remember you. You might have been here instead of me."

Frang groaned.

"But you could never have got on as I have, because—well because, you see you are only Frang and I am Singrin !

#### ART. IV.—THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HINDUS IN THE RIG-VEDA PERIOD.

IT is a matter of sincere regret that no translation of the *Rig-Veda Samhitā* has yet been published in English. For many reasons this collection of the ancient hymns of the Hindus is a work of remarkable interest. The work has been called the most ancient book in the library of mankind, and it is beyond question the earliest work in the Aryan world. But it is not the antiquity of the volume that makes it so remarkable. What gives it an almost unique value is that, in this ancient collection of hymns to the powers and manifestations of nature, we trace the commencement of the legends of all Aryan nations; we see the rise and growth, as it were, of all Aryan religions. Zeus and Athena, Jupiter and Vulcan and Uranus, Tiu and Zio, Ahura Mazda and Mithra and Verethraghna are so many meaningless names to us, until we open the ancient volume of the Hindus and trace the conception of these Aryan gods to the manifestations of nature which inspired in the common ancestors of Hindus and Persians, of Greeks, Romans and Tutons, feelings of veneration and love.

And if such be the value of the *Rig-Veda* to all Aryan nations, the value of the work to the Indo-Aryans or Hindus is infinitely more. It presents us with the only account extant of the early civilization of the first Aryan settlers in India; and it also enables us to trace the Hindu religion to its earliest source and simplest phase. The historian of India and the religious enquirer must alike turn to this one remarkable volume for the first and most valuable materials of their researches.

English translations of this work were commenced, first by Stevenson, and then by Roer, but neither of these scholars proceeded very far with their work. Over forty years ago, when Professor Max Müller commenced the publication of his magnificent edition of the work with Sayana's commentary, Professor H. H. Wilson, then the greatest of English antiquarians, commenced an English translation of this great work. He lived to complete the translation, but only a little over one-half of the work has been published, the remainder has not been given to the world. It is said that the German scholars have made such wonderful progress in Vedic scholarship since Dr. Wilson's time, that his translation, based on Sayana's commentary only, is no longer acceptable in Europe. Hence, the publication of his work has never been translated.

A complete translation was published in France, nearly forty years ago, by M. Langlois. M. Langlois was a man of cultured

taste and of imagination, and his translation is based on what he imagines to be the true sense of the Vedic hymns, and is therefore of small value to scholars. Two translations of the work have been published in the German language. Grassman is a poet, and his translation of the Rig-Veda into German poetry, although a most creditable performance, does not meet the requirements of the scholar. Ludwig's translation with notes into German is the best, and the only scholar-like translation of the Rig-Veda into any European language. He is more true to Sayana's interpretation than Grassman.\*

It is not our object in the present paper to discuss abstruse questions or debatable points of Vedic study. Our object is to write a simple and popular account of the social life and civilization of our early forefathers, as reflected in their immortal work, and to string together within the limits of an article some of the most interesting passages in the Veda, illustrating the manners and customs of the time. We shall try to see the early Hindus as they were over three thousand years ago, as they lived and acted and thought. We shall try to review, as faithfully as we can, their arts and civilization, their social laws and domestic life, their wars and their peaceful occupations. To this task we now address ourselves.

### *I.—The first home of the Hindus.*

The early Aryans of India were an agricultural and pastoral race who lived on the banks of the Indus and its five tributaries. The banks of these rivers were fertile, and agriculture was the national occupation of the Indo-Aryans, and we have only rare allusions to those migratory habits which are peculiar to all nations essentially pastoral. Such migrations from place to place in quest of pasture lands were probably not so frequently undertaken by the Aryans even in their original home in Central Asia as by the Turanians and other nomad races. In India the habit was almost entirely given up.

As might be expected, we have frequent allusions to the Indus and its five tributaries. Hymn 75 of the 10th Mandala is a remarkable instance, and we will give our readers a translation of the entire hymn.

"1. O ye streams! The bard celebrates your excellent prowess in the house of the worshipper. They flow in three systems, seven streams in each system. The prowess of the Indus is superior to that of all others.

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\* The present writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge his obligations to the Government of Bengal by whose assistance he has been able to publish a complete translation of the Rig-Veda in the Bengali language. This is the first complete translation of the work into an Indian Vernacular.

"2. Oh Indus! when you flow towards lands rich in horses and in corn, Varuna opens out the way for you. You flow over the spacious path on the land. You shine above all flowing rivers.

"3. The mighty sound of the Indus ascends from the earth and spreads over the sky! She flows with mighty force and in radiant form. Her mighty sound is heard as if rains are descending from the clouds with great noise. The Indus comes like a bull, bellowing as it comes.

"4. As cows bring milk to their calves, even thus, O Indus! the other streams come sounding to you with their waters! As a king marches with his forces to battle, even thus you march in front with two systems of rivers flowing by your side.\*

"5. O Ganga! O Yamuna (Jumna) and Sarasvati, and Satadru (Sutlej), and Parushni (Ravi)! Share these my words among you. O river combined with Asikni (Chinab)! O Vitastá (Jhilam)! O Arjikiyá (Baja), combined with Sasomá (Indus)! Hear my words.

"6. O Indus! first thou flowest united Trishtámá, with Susartu and Rasá and the Sveti. You unite Krumu (Kurum river) and Gomati (Gomal river) with Kubha (Cabul river) and Mehatnu. You proceed together with these rivers.

"7. The irresistible Indus proceeds straight, white and dazzling in colour! She is great, and her waters fill all sides with mighty force. Of all the flowing rivers, none is flowing like her! She is strange like a mare,—beautiful like a well-developed woman!

"8. The Indus is ever young and beautiful. She is rich in horses, in chariots, and in garments; she is rich in gold and is beautifully clad! She is rich in corn and in wool and in straw, and has covered herself with sweet flowers.

"9. The Indus has fastened horses to her chariot, and has brought food therein to this sacrifice. Her prowess is extolled as mighty; she is irresistible and great and rich in her fame!"

The hymn is remarkable for its power and its beauty, and remarkable also for the extensive vision of the poet, who, as Professor Max Müller says, takes in at one swoop three great river systems, those flowing from the north-west into the Indus, those joining it from the north-east, and in the distance the Ganges and the Jumna with their tributaries. "It shews the widest geographical horizon of the Vedic poets, confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range

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\* I.e., the tributaries coming from Cabul in the west, and the tributaries flowing through the Punjab in the east, as named in the two following verses.



of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and Ganges in the east. Beyond that the world, though open, was unknown to the Vedic poets." *India, what can it teach us.*

The frequent allusions to the rivers of the Punjab leave no doubt that the Punjab was the first home of the Aryans in India. These rivers are sometimes spoken of together as the "seven rivers," and it is explained in one place (VII, 36, 6), that the seven rivers have the Indus for their mother and the Sarasvati as the seventh. The Indus and its five branches still water the primeval home of the early Hindus, but the Sarasvati which was the most sacred of ancient rivers and was worshipped even in that remote time as a goddess, has since ceased to flow. Antiquarians state that it was a stream which flowed between the Indus and the Jumna, but has been lost in the deserts of Rajputana.

It would be foreign to our purpose to cite all the allusions in the Rig-Veda to the different rivers and localities of the Punjab, but a few instances may interest our readers.

In I, 126, 1 we have mention of a beneficent king Bhavayavya who lived on the banks of the Indus, and who rewarded the bard (who sings his praise) with a hundred gold pieces (*Nishka*), a hundred horses and a hundred bullocks. The beneficence of kings towards the rishis and bards of ancient times is frequently extolled.

In II, 15, 6 we have an allusion to the Indus, flowing to the north. This must refer to some bend of the river where it turns northward, or perhaps to the course of the river before it turns southwards through the mountains of Kashmir.

There is a remarkable passage in IV, 30, 18 which shews that, although the Hindus in the time of the Rig-Veda had their principal settlements in the Punjab, still enterprising leaders and colonists penetrated beyond the Jumna and the Ganges, and fought for a footing even on the distant banks of the Sarayu which is in modern Oude. We are told of Arna and Chitraratha, two *Arya*, i. e., Aryan leaders, who perished there. Still more remarkable is the allusion to the aboriginal tribes of *Kitaka* (which is usually identified with South Behar). In III, 53, 14, the Aryan bard enquires of Indra with that naive simplicity which is the charm of the Rig-Veda,—

"Of what use to you are the cows of the *Kitakas*. Their milk is not mixed with the Soma-juice, nor poured in the sacrificial vessel. Bring them to us. Bring the wealth of Pramaganda to us. O Indra ! bestow on us the wealth of these low men." The eminent German scholar Weber accepts the opinion that the *Kitakas* in this passage are the people of Magadha or South Behar, and that Pramaganda was the

aboriginal king of the tribe. He adds the suggestive remarks that the native aborigines being particularly vigorous, retained much of their influence even after they were Brahminised, and "that is how we have to account for the special sympathy and success which Buddhism met with in Magadha."—*Indian Literature*, p. 79.

But although enterprising bands of Hindus had pushed forward as far as modern Oude or even South Behar, still the *father land* of the early Hindus was the Punjab, and allusions to the rivers of the Punjab are frequent. (III, 23, 4 ; III, 33, 1 ; IV, 22, 2 ; VI, 61, 10 ; VI, 7, 6 ; VIII, 21, 17 ; VIII, 20, 25 ; VIII, 24, 27 ; VIII, 64, 11 ; VIII, 74, 12 ; VIII, 96, 1 ; IX, 65, 23 ; IX, 66, 6 ; IX, 113, 2 ; X, 64, 9, &c., &c.)

There is one somewhat curious passage in which the Rishi Visva mitra encumbered with the chariots and horses and other rewards bestowed on him by king Sudāsa, finds a difficulty in crossing the confluence of the Beya and the Sutlej, and pours out an entire hymn (III, 33) to appease the anger of the roaring flood ! We shall subsequently have occasion to say more of this king Sudāsa, who was a mighty conqueror and subjugated ten surrounding kings, who conquered many Aryan tribes in the Punjab, and was the victor of numerous battles which form the theme of some spirited hymns. This mighty conqueror seems also to have been a patron of learning and religion, and liberally rewarded the sages of the house of Visva mitra and of Vasistha alike. As a consequence there was a jealousy between these two priestly houses to which we will allude further on.

While references to the rivers of the Punjab are thus frequent, allusions to the Ganges and the Jumna are rare. We have already translated a hymn in which both those rivers are named.

The only other passage in the Rig-Veda where the Ganges is alluded to, is VI, 45, 31, where the high banks of the Ganges are the subject of a simile. The *famed* cattle on the pasture-fields along the banks of the Jumna are alluded to in V, 52, 17.

Thus the land of the five rivers was the earliest home of the Aryan settlers in India, and it would seem that the settlers along the five rivers gradually formed themselves into five tribes or nations. The "five lands" (*Pancha-kshiti*) are alluded to in I, 7, 9 ; I, 176, 3 ; VI, 46, 7, and in other places. Similarly we read of the "five cultivating tribes" (*Pancha-krishti*) in II, 2, 10 ; IV, 38, 10 ; and other places, and we read of "five peoples" (*Panch-jana*) in VI, 11, 4 ; VI, 52, 11 ; VIII, 32, 22 ; IX, 65, 23, and other places.

It was these "five tribes" of simple, bold and enterprising Aryans, living by agriculture and by pasture on the fertile banks

of the Indus and its tributaries, who were the progenitors of the great Hindu nation which has now spread from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and in number forms one-sixth of the human race !

## II.—Agriculture, Pasture and Commerce.

The main industry of the ancient Hindus, as of the modern Hindus, was agriculture, and as might be expected, we have frequent allusions to it in the Rig-Veda. The very name *Arya* by which the Aryan conquerors of India have distinguished themselves in numerous places from the aborigines or *Dāses*, is said to come from a root which means to cultivate. Professor Max Müller has traced the progress of this word all over the Aryan world from *Iran* or Persia to *Erin* or Ireland, and argues with considerable force that the word was invented in the primeval home of the Aryans in Central Asia to indicate their partiality to cultivation, as distinguished from the nomadic habits of the Turanians whose name indicates their rapid journies or the fleetness of their horse. Certain it is, that the word *Arya* is the one word in the Rig-Veda which distinguishes the conquerors as a class, or even as a caste, from the aborigines of the country. And there are remarkable passages also which shew that the new settlers, in calling themselves *Aryas*, had not altogether forgotten the real signification of the word. One instance will suffice.

“O ye two Asvins! you have displayed your glory by teaching the *Arya* man to cultivate with the plough and to sow corn, and by giving him rains for (the production of) his food ; and by destroying the *Dasyu* by your thunderbolt.” I, 117, 21.

There are two other words in the Rig-Veda which are synonymous not so much with the Aryan tribe, but rather with man generally ; and both of them come from roots which indicate cultivation. The words are *Charshana* (I, 3, 7, &c.), and *Krishti* (I, 4, 6 ; II, 2, 10 ; IV, 38, 60, &c.), and both these words come from modifications of the same root *Krish* or *Chrish*, to cultivate.

Thus the very names which the Aryan conquerors of India gave themselves are names which indicate that useful occupation which distinguishes the civilized man from the barbarian, *viz.*, cultivation of the soil.

There are numerous direct allusions in the Rig-Veda to agriculture, but the most remarkable among them is a hymn which is dedicated to a supposed god of agriculture, the Lord of the Field, as he is called, and which will translate in full.

“1. We will win (cultivate) this field with the Lord of the Field ; may he nourish our cattle and our horses ; may he bless us thereby.

"2. O Lord of the Field! bestow on us sweet and pure and butter-like and delicious and copious rain, even as cows give us milk. May the lords of the sacrifice bless us.

"3. May the plants be sweet unto us; may the skies and the rains and the firmament be full of sweetness; may the Lord of the Field be gracious to us. We will follow him uninjured by enemies.

"4. Let the bullocks work merrily; let the men work merrily; let the plough move on merrily! Fasten the fastenings merrily; ply the goad merrily.

"5. O Suna and Sira! accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky.

"6. O fortunate Furrow! proceed onwards! We pray unto thee; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crop.

"7. May Indra accept this Furrow; may Pushan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year.\*

"8. Let the ploughshares turn up the sod merrily; let the men follow the bullocks merrily; may Parjanya moisten the earth with sweet rains. O Suna and Sira! bestow on us happiness. IV, 57.

We shall seek in vain in the entire range of later Sanscrit literature for a passage in which the humble hopes and wishes of simple agriculturists are so naturally described. This is the unique charm of the Rig-Veda as a literary composition. Whether it is an account of a battle with aborigines, or a prayer to friendly Indra to come and have a cup of soma, or a song of the simple cultivator,—the Rig-Veda hymn always takes us nearer to the simple workings of a simple but straightforward and manly heart, than anything in the literature of later times.

We will translate a portion of another hymn, also dedicated to agriculture.

"3. Fasten the ploughs, spread out the yokes, and sow seeds on this field which has been prepared. Let the corn grow with our hymns; let the scythes fall on the neighbouring field where the corn is ripe.

"4. The ploughs have been fastened; the labourers have spread the yokes; the wise men are uttering prayers to gods.

\* In these two remarkable verses the furrow, *Sita*, is addressed as a female, and asked to yield copious harvests. In the Yajurveda also, the furrow is similarly worshipped. And when the Aryans gradually conquered the whole of India, and primeval jungles and waste lands were marked with the furrow, the furrow or *Sita* assumed a more definite human character, and became the heroine of the National Epic which describes the Aryan conquest of Southern India!

"5. Prepare troughs for the drinking of the animals. Fasten the leather-string and let us take out water from this deep and goodly well which never dries up.

"6. The troughs have been prepared for the animals, the leather-string shines in the deep and goodly well which never dries up, and the water is easily got. Take out water from the well.

"7. Refresh the horses, take up the corn stacked on the field, and make a cart which will convey it easily. This well, full of water for the drinking of animals, is one *drona* in extent, and there is a stone wheel to it. And the reservoir for the drinking of men is one *skanda*. Fill it with water." X, 101.

Irrigation and cultivation in the Punjab are only possible by means of wells, and wells are reserved also for the drinking of men and of beasts; and it is not surprising, therefore, that we should find references to wells in the Rig-Veda. Another remarkable fact which appears from the passages translated above, is that horses were used for cultivation purposes in those days, a custom still common in Europe, but not in India in modern times.

In X, 25, 4, and in many other places, we have allusions to wells. In X, 93, 13 we are told how water was raised from wells for irrigation purposes. The contrivance is the same as is still in vogue in Northern India; a number of pots are tied to a string, and as the pots go up and down by the movement of a wheel, they are filled in the well and pulled up, and emptied and sent down again. The contrivance is called *ghati chakra* or the circle of pots, and I think bears the same name up to the present day.

In X, 99, 4, we have another allusion to irrigation of fields by means of canals which are replenished with water by means of a *drona*. And in X, 68, 1 we are told that cultivators, who irrigated their fields, kept away birds by uttering loud cries.

As stated above the allusions to pasture are by no means so frequent as the allusions to agriculture: Pushan is the god of shepherds,—he is the sun as viewed by shepherds, and is supposed to protect them and travellers generally in their wanderings over the country. And here and there in a hymn to Pushan we find that the Aryans of India had brought with them recollections and songs about those migrations which they occasionally undertook in Central Asia, if not, after their settlement in India. We translate one such hymn below:—

"1. O Pushan! help us to finish our journey and remove all dangers. O son of the cloud! do thou march before us.

"2. O Pushan! do thou remove from our path those who would lead us astray, those who strike and plunder and do wrong

"3. Do thou drive away that wily robber who intercepts journeys.

"4. O Pushan! do thou trample under thy foot the vile carcass of him who plunders us in both ways (by stealth and by force,) and who commits outrages.

"5. O wise Pushan, destroyer of enemies! we implore of thee the protection with which thou didst shield and encourage our forefathers.

"6. O Pushan, possessed of all wealth, possessed of golden weapons, and chief among beings! bestow on us thy riches.

"7. Lead us so that enemies who intercept may not harm us; lead us over easy and pleasant paths. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this way.

"8. Lead us to pleasant tracts covered with green grass; let us not meet with any unforeseen danger on the way. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this way.

"9. Be powerful (in thy protection); fill us (with riches): bestow on us (wealth). Make us strong and give us food. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this way.

"10. We do not blame Pushan, but we extol him in our hymns. We solicit wealth from the handsome Pushan." I, 42.

There is also another interesting hymn on the practice of taking out cattle to pasture fields, and then bringing them back. A few verses are worth translating.

"4. We call the cowherd, let him take out these cows; let him pasture them in the fields; let him know and pick out the animals; let him bring them back to the house; let him pasture them on all sides.

"5. The cowherd seeks for the cows, brings them back to the house and pastures them on all sides. May he come home safe.

"8. O cowherd! pasture the cows in all directions, and bring them back. Pasture them in various parts of the earth, and then bring them back." X, 19.

There are allusions in the preceding passages to robbers who infested outlying tracts of the country, probably to cattle-lifters and thieves among the aboriginal races who hung around the Aryan villages and clearances and lived by intercepting peaceful industry. We shall speak of them further on.

Allusions to trade and commerce must be necessarily rare in a collection of hymns to gods, but nevertheless we are here and there surprised by passages which throw a curious light on the manners of the times. Loans and usury were well understood in those days, and Rishis (who, we should always remember, were worldly men in the Rig-Veda) occasionally lament their state of indebtedness with the simplicity of primitive times. In one remarkable verse again we are reminded

of the finality of a sale transaction, when once the sale is completed.

"One sells a large quantity for a small price, and then goes to the purchaser and denies the sale, and asks for a higher price. But the man who has sold, cannot exceed the price once fixed on the plea that he has given a large quantity. Whether the price was adequate or inadequate, the price fixed at the time of sale must hold good." IV, 24, 9.

A passage like the above would indicate the existence of current coins for the purposes of buying and selling. We have numerous instances of Rishis acknowledging the gift of a hundred pieces of gold (V, 27, 2, &c.), and there can be no doubt pieces of gold of a certain fixed value were used as money and indicated in these passages. Professor Wilson in his note on the above verse (V, 27, 2) thinks "that pieces of money are intended; for if we may trust Aryan, the Hindus had coined money before Alexander." We must admit, however, that there is an absence of positive proof on the subject. The word *Nishka* (I, 126, 1, &c.) is often used in the Rig-Veda in a dubious sense. In some passages it may mean money, in others it means a golden ornament for the neck. The two interpretations are not necessarily contradictory, for in India golden coins have habitually been used as ornaments for the neck since times immemorial.

On the other hand, there are distinct references to voyages by sea, though of course only a coasting trade could have been possible in those days. The shipwreck of Bhujyu, and his deliverance by the gods Asvins, is constantly alluded to (I, 116, 3, &c.), and in I, 25, 7 the god Varuna is said to know the paths of the birds through the sky and the paths of the ships over the sea. In IV, 55, 6 the poet refers to the "people who desiring to acquire wealth pray to the sea before undertaking a voyage;" while in VII, 88, 3 Vasishtha says:—

"When Varuna and I went on a boat, and took her out to sea, I lived in the boat floating on the water and was happy in it, rocking beautifully (in the waves)".

While there are these and other distinct allusions to sea voyage, there is absolutely no prohibition against it in the Rig-Veda.

### III.—*Food, clothing and the arts of peace.*

Barley and wheat seem to have been the principal produce of the field, and the principal articles of food. The names of grain found in the Rig-Veda are somewhat misleading, as they have come to bear a different signification in modern days from what they had in the ancient times. Thus the word *yava* which in modern Sanscrit implies barley only, was used in the Veda

for implying food-grains generally, including wheat and barley. And the word *dhāna* which in Bengal at least means paddy or rice, implies in the Rig-Veda fried barley, which was used as food and offered to the gods. (III, 35, 3 ; VI, 13, 4 ; VI, 29, 4, &c.)

We also find mention of various kinds of cakes prepared from these grains and used as food and offered to the gods. *Pakti* (from pach, to cook or to prepare) means prepared cakes, and various other terms like *purodāsa* and *apupa* and *karam-bha* are also used. (III, 52, 1 ; IV, 24, 1, &c.)

It may be easily imagined that animal food was largely used by the early Hindus of the Punjab. We have frequent allusions to the sacrifice and to the cooking of cows, buffaloes and bulls.\* (I, 61, 12 ; II, 7, 5 ; V, 29, 7 & 8 ; VI, 17, 11 ; VI, 16, 47 ; VI, 29, 1 ; X, 27, 2 ; X, 28, 3, &c., &c.)

In X, 89, 14 there is a mention of slaughter-house where cows are killed, and in X, 91, 14 there is an allusion to the sacrifice of horses, bulls and rams. The allusions to the sacrifice of horse are extremely rare, shewing that although the custom was introduced into India by the early Aryans from their primitive home in Central Asia, the flesh of horse as an article of food soon fell into disuse. In later times the sacrifice of the horse or the *Asvamedha* was performed on rare occasions with great pomp and circumstance by powerful kings after they had subdued their neighbours and assumed a title answering to the Imperial title in Europe.\* There can be no doubt this great imperial rite rose out of the simple sacrifice of the horse, practised in primitive times, when horse was an article of food. The pomp and ceremony as well as certain extremely nasty practices connected with the horse-sacrifice in later days, were unknown in Vedic times.

A fairly complete account of the sacrifice of the horse, such as it prevailed in the Vedic times, is to be found in hymn 162 of the first Mandala of the Rig-Veda. It is too long for translation, but a few verses may interest our readers.

"2. The men have brought a goat to be sacrificed before the horse which is covered with gold trappings. The piebald goat bleats and goes towards the horse ; may it be welcome food for Indra and Pushan.

"11. O horse ! the gravy which comes out of your body when you are cooked, and which remains sticking to the roasting spit, should not fall to the ground nor get mixed with the grass. The gods are eager for the food, let all be offered to them.

"12. Those who stand around and view the cooking of the

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\* See Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's. *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, Article *Beef in Ancient India*.



horse ; those who say, " its smell is delicious, take it down now," and those who wait for begging a portion of the meat, let the aims of all of them be like our aims.

" 13. The stick which is put into the boiling pot to examine the boiling, the vessels in which the gravy is preserved, the covers which keep it warm, the cane by which the body of the horse is first marked, and the knife by which the body is severed (along the lines marked), all these implements help in the cooking of the horse.

" 18. The knife goes as a friend of the gods, to separate the thirty-four bent ribs of the horse. Cut them out so, that the separate parts may not be cut or mangled. With a loud voice and with circumspection cut away along the joints.

" 20. Go to the gods, O horse ! let not thy dear body pain thee ; let not the knife rest long on thy limbs ; let not a greedy and ignorant executioner cut thy body needlessly, disregarding the separate limbs."

Who could have believed that this simple horse-sacrifice of the Rig-Veda, the carving and the roasting and the boiling of horse for worship and for the purposes of food, would have developed into the imperial ceremony of *Asvamedha* of later times ? But many a practice which we see in its simple and natural aspect in the Veda, has developed into mighty and often monstrous ceremonies in later days, and many a simple Vedic allegory relating to the striking phenomena of nature has also developed into equally monstrous Pauranik legends ! Herein constitutes the invaluable worth of the Veda, we trace the Hindu rites and institutions and the Hindu religion itself to their simple natural beginnings.

The fermented juice of the plant called *Soma* appears to have been the only intoxicating drink used in the Vedic times. So much were the ancient Aryans addicted to this drink, that Soma was soon worshipped as a deity, both in India and in Iran, (under the name *Haoma* in the latter country,) and we find one entire *mandala* or book of the Rig-Veda dedicated to this deity ! The Indo-Aryans appear to have been more addicted to fermented and intoxicating Soma than their peaceful brethren of Iran, and many are the allusions in the *Zendavesta* to the hateful customs of their Indian brethren ! Dr. Rajendra Lala thinks that this was one great reason of those dissensions which broke out among the primitive Aryans in their Central-Asian home, and which led to the expulsion of one section of them to India, in other words, to the conquest and colonization of India by Aryans !

The process by which the Soma-juice was prepared, has been fully described in IX, 66, and in other hymns. We will translate a few verses from this hymn.

"2. O Soma ! your two leaves were placed obliquely, and you attained a wonderful beauty thereby.

"3. O Soma ! the leaves covered thee—a creeper—on all sides, and you flourished in all seasons.

"7. O Soma ! you have been crushed. You flow as a stream to Indra, scattering joy on all sides ; you bestow immortal food.

"8. Seven women stir thee with their fingers, blending their voices in a song to thee. You remind the sacrificer of his duties at the sacrifice.

"9. You are mixed with water with a pleasing sound, and some fingers stir you over a strainer of sheep's wool and filter you. Your particles are thrown up then, and a sound arises from the woollen strainer.

"11. The sheep's wool strainer is placed on a vessel, and the fingers repeatedly stir the Soma, which sends out a sweet stream into the vessel.

"13. O Soma ! you are (then) mixed with milk. Water runs towards thee with a pleasing sound."

From this description it would appear that the juice of Soma used to be taken much as *Siddhi* is taken in our times, mixed with milk. The poets of the Rig-Veda go into ecstasies over the virtues and the exhilarating powers of the Soma, and some of their descriptions have developed into strange Pauranik legends in subsequent time. One or two verses will illustrate this :—

"O Soma ! there is nothing so bright as thou. When thou art poured out, thou welcomest all the gods to bestow on them immortality." IX, 108, 3.

"The praiseworthy Soma has from ancient times been the drink of the gods. He was milked from the hidden recesses of the sky. He was created for Indra, and was extolled." IX, 110, 8.

"In that realm where there is perennial light, and where the Heaven is placed, O Soma ! lead me to that deathless and immortal realm. Flow thou for Indra." IX, 113, 7.

Such passages as these are to be found throughout the ninth book of the Rig-Veda. Who could have guessed that the strange Pauranik legend of the churning of the ocean and the discovery of the *amrita*, or immortal drink, could have arisen from these simple Vedic descriptions of Soma ? The sky in the Veda is considered watery, and is often confused with the sea,—and the milking of Soma from the sky would, with the help of a strong Pauranik imagination, be translated into the churning of the ocean for the *amrita* !

It would appear from many passages in the Rig-Veda that many arts were carried to a high state of excellence.

Weaving was well known of course, and deft female fingers plied the warp and the woof in ancient times as in modern days. (II, 3, 6; II, 38, 4, &c.) In one curious passage (VI, 9, 2) the Rishi laments his ignorance of the mysteries of religious rites, by saying: "I know not the warp and I know not the woof" of religious rites. And in another place (X, 26, 6) the weaving and bleaching of sheep's wool is attributed to the god Pushan, who we have already seen is the god of shepherds.

Every Aryan village had probably its barber then as now, and the clearances of forests by fire, are in one passage somewhat mysteriously described as the *shaving* of the earth (I, 164, 44.) Carpentry was also well known, and we have frequent allusions to the construction of carts and chariots. (III, 53, 19; IV, 2, 14; IV, 16, 20, &c.) The use of iron, of gold,<sup>3</sup> and of other metals was well known; in V, 9, 5 we have a reference to the work of an ironsmith, and in VI, 3, 4, we are told of goldsmith melting metal.

But we get a better idea of the working in metals in the Vedic times from the description of various gold ornaments and iron utensils and implements of war, which is to be found throughout the Rig-Veda. The allusions are numerous, and we can therefore only make a selection here which will convey a fair idea of the manufactures of those days. We are told of armours used in war in I, 140, 10; in II, 39, 4; in IV, 53, 2, and in various other places. In II, 34, 3, we have a reference to golden visors, and in IV, 34, 9 there is mention of armour for the shoulders or arms, probably a shield. The lightning has been compared with a javelin (*rishti*) in V, 52, 6, and in V, 54, 11; and also to a sword or battle axe (*bashi*), and to bows and arrows and quivers in V, 57, 2. Three thousand mailed warriors are spoken of in VI, 27, 6, feathered, sharp-pointed shining shafts are described in VI, 46, 11, and sharp-edged swords are spoken of in VI, 47, 10. And in verses 26 and 29 of the same hymn we are told of war chariots and trumpets, or bugles. And lastly, in the 75th hymn of the sixth Mandala, we have a spirited account of the arms and accoutrements of war which we will translate for our readers further on.

In IV, 2, 8 we have a reference to horses with golden caparisons, and in IV, 37, 4; V, 19, 3, and many other places, we have allusions to the *Nishka*,—a golden coin or ornament worn in the neck. In V, 53, 4, the lighting ornaments of the *Maruts* are compared with ornaments (*anji*), with necklaces (*sraṅ*), with golden breastplates (*rukma*), and with bracelets and anklets (*khādi*). In V, 54, 11 we are again told of anklets for the feet, and golden breastplate for the breast, and of golden crowns (*siprah hiranmayih*) for the head.

Thus it will be seen that a very considerable advance was made in the manufacture of arms, weapons, and various kinds of ornaments. We have references also to skin-vessels (VI, 48, 18) and iron vessels (V, 30, 15), and in several places to iron-towns, which must be taken in a figurative sense as signifying strong forts (VII, 3, 7; VII, 15, 14; VII, 95, 1, &c.). We have also references to a hundred stone built towns in IV, 30, 20, and other places.

There can be no doubt that in the various rocky and mountainous tracts where the early Hindus extended their colonies, they soon learnt to utilize stone as a durable and cheap material for architecture, and there can be no difficulty in believing that in numerous Hindu towns many of the buildings and surrounding walls were of stone. That architecture was carried to a high state of perfection, appears from many allusions to mansions with thousand pillars (II, 41, 5; V, 62, 6, &c.); but at the same time it must be admitted that there is no distinct allusion in the Rig-Veda to the art of sculpture, properly so called. The researches of antiquarians have failed to discover, in any part of India, traces of sculptured stone or marble of a time previous to the Buddhistic era, and in the numerous great museums of Europe which we have visited, and which are filled with the ancient stone monuments of Egypt and Babylon, of Greece and of Rome, India is represented only by her ancient and wonderful manuscripts.

Most of the animals domesticated at the present day were domesticated in India in the remote period of the Rig-Veda. We have spirited accounts of the war horse in several places. (VI, 46, 13 and 14 &c.)

Indeed, these war horses were so highly prized by the early Aryans in their battles against the aborigines, that the horse under the name of *Dadhikrā* soon became an object of worship, and in IV, 38, we have a spirited account of the respect paid to this god-like being.

In IV, 4, we have a reference to a king riding with his ministers on an elephant. Among other domesticated animals, we have frequent mention of cows, goats, sheep, buffaloes, camels and dogs, which were used in carrying burdens.

#### IV.—Wars and Dissensions.

As has been stated before, the early Hindus wrested the fertile tracts on the banks of the Indus and its five tributaries from the primitive aborigines of the Punjab, but the aborigines did not give up their birthright without a struggle. Retreating before the more civilized organization and valour of the Hindus in the open field, they still hung round in fastnesses and forests near every Hindu settlement and village, harassed them in their

communications, waylaid and robbed them at every opportunity, stole their cattle, and often attacked them in considerable force. Well might they exclaim with the Gaels of Scotland, who had been similarly dispossessed of their fertile soil by the conquering Saxons, and had similarly retreated to barren fastnesses—

‘ These fertile plains, that softened vale,  
 ‘ Were once the birthright of the Gael ;  
 ‘ The stranger came with iron hand,  
 “ And from our fathers reft the land.  
 ‘ Where dwell we now ? See rudely swell  
 “ Crag over crag and fell o’er fell.

“ Pent in this fortress of the North  
 “ Think’st thou we will not sally forth,  
 “ To spoil the spoiler as we may,  
 “ And from the robber rend his prey ?  
 ‘ Ay, by my soul ! While on yon plain  
 “ The Saxon rears one shock of grain ;  
 ‘ While of ten thousand heid there strays  
 ‘ But one along yon river’s maze,—  
 ‘ The Gael of plain and river heir  
 ‘ Shall with strong hand redeem his share.”

Unfortunately, however, they had no poet to hand down to us their view of the case, and the only account we have of this long war of centuries, is from the conquering Hindus. It is needless to say that the conquerors viewed the aborigines with the contempt and hatred which have marked the conduct of all conquering tribes, whether on the banks of the Indus seventeen hundred years before Christ, or on the banks of the Mississippi seventeen hundred years after Christ ! History repeats itself, and the Punjab was cleared of its non-Aryan aborigines just as the United States of America have, in modern times, been cleared of the many powerful and brave Indian races who lived and hunted and ruled within its primeval forests.

Of these wars with the aborigines, we have frequent allusions in the Rig-Veda, and a translation of some of these passages will give a better idea of these interminable hostilities than any account that we can give of them. The allusions are so numerous, that our only difficulty is in making a selection.

“ Indra, who is invoked by many, and is accompanied by his fleet companions, has destroyed by his thunderbolt the *Dasyus* and *Simyas* who dwelt on earth, and then he distributed the fields to his white-complexioned friends (Aryans). The graceful Indra with his thunderbolt makes the sun shine and the rain to fall.”—I, 100, 18.

“ Indra with his weapon the thunderbolt, and full of vigour, destroyed the towns of the *Dasyus*, and wandered at his will. O holder of the thunderbolt ! Be thou cognizant ( of our hymns),

and cast thy weapon against the *Dasyus*, and increase the vigour and the fame of the *Aryas*. I, 103, 3.

In the very next hymn we come across a curious allusion to aboriginal robbers who dwelt on the banks of four small streams, called the Sifá, the Anjasi, the Kulisi and the Virapatni, whose courses cannot now be determined. These robbers issued from their fastnesses and harassed the civilized Aryan villages, much in the same way, we suppose, as a true descendant of those aborigines—the Bhil Tántia in our own times is harassing the peaceful villages of Central India! We translate the two verses below.

“Kuyava gets scent of the wealth of others and appropriates them. He lives in water, and pollutes it. His two wives bathe in the stream,—may they be drowned in the depths of the Sifá river!

“Ayu lives in water in a secret fastness. He flourishes amidst the rise of waters. The rivers Anjasi, Kulisi and Virapatni protect him with their waters.” I, 104, 3 & 4.

We proceed with some more extracts—

“Indra protects his *Arya* worshipper in wars. He who protects him on countless occasions, protects him in all wars. He subdues the people who do not perform sacrifices for the benefit of men (Aryans.) He flays the enemy of his black skin and kills him, and reduces him to ashes. He burns down all who do injury and all who are cruel.” I, 130, 8.

“O destroyer of foes! collect together the heads of these marauding troops, and sever them with thy wide foot. Your foot is wide.

“O Indra! destroy the power of these marauding troops. Throw them in hideous or extensive funeral places.

“O Indra! you have destroyed three times fifty such troops. People extol this thy deed, but it is nothing compared to thy prowess.

“O Indra! destroy the *Pishachis* who are reddish in appearance and utter fearful yells. Destroy all these *Rakshasas*.” \* I, 133, 2 to 5.

“O Indra! the poet prays to thee for pleasant food. Thou hast made the earth the bed (burial ground) of the *Dáses*. Indra has beautified the three lands with his gifts; he has slayed *Kuyavácha* for king *Daryoni*.”

“O Indra! new Rishis still extol that ancient deed of prowess; thou hast destroyed many marauders to put an end to war. Thou hast stormed the towns of enemies who worship no gods; and thou hast bent the weapons of foes who worship no gods.”—I, 174, 7 & 8.

\* *Pishachis* and *Rakshasas* may mean imaginary demons. I would rather think, however, that they refer to the aborigines.

“O Asvins! destroy those who are yelling hideously like dogs, and are coming to destroy us. Slay those who wish to fight with us. You know the way to destroy them. Let each word of those who extol you, bring wealth in return. O you truthful ones! accept our prayers.” I, 182, 4.

“The radiant and far-famed and beauteous Indra is gracious to men (Aryans) the destroying and powerful Indra has cast down the heads of the *Dāses* who injure people.

“Indra who slayed Vritra, and stormed towns, has destroyed the troops of the black *Dāses*, and has made the earth and the water for Manu.\* May he satisfy the wishes of the sacrificer.” II, 20, 6 & 7.

We know how the Spaniard conquerors of America owed their successes to a very great extent to their horses, animals previously unknown to the American aborigines, and therefore regarded with a strange terror. It would seem that the war horses of the early Indo-Aryans inspired the aborigines of India with a similar fear. The following passages, translated from a hymn to *Dadhikrā* or the deified war-horse, will therefore be regarded with interest.

“As people shout and raise a cry after a thief who has purloined a cloth, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikra! As birds make a noise at the sight of the hungry hawk\* on its descent, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikra careering in quest of plunder of food and cattle.

“Enemies who come to fight fear Dadhikra who is radiant and destroying as a thunderbolt. When he beats back a thousand men around him, he becomes excited and uncontrollable in his strength.” IV, 38, 5 & 8.

It would seem from numerous passages in the Rig-Veda that Kutsa was a powerful warrior and a mighty destroyer of the black aborigines. We are told in hymn 16 of the fourth Mandala, that Indra slayed the “*Dasyus*, who are wily and have no priests” to bestow wealth on Kutsa (verse 9); that he helped Kutsa and came to Kutsa’s house with the common object of slaying the *Dasyus* (verse 10); and that he slayed fifty thousand “black-complexioned enemies” in the battle (verse 13). In IV, 28, 4, we are told that Indra has made the *Dasyus* devoid of all virtues and the object of hatred of all men; and in IV, 30, 15, we learn that Indra destroyed five hundred and a thousand *Dāses*.

We have similar allusions to the conquering and destroying

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\* Here, as elsewhere, Manu is spoken of as the ancestor of the Aryan man. In many places he is spoken of as the originator of cultivation and of the worship of fire which distinguished the Aryans.

of *Dasyus* or *Dases* in V, 70, 3<sup>\*</sup>; VI, 18, 3, and VI, 25, 2; while there is a curious reference to an unknown region inhabited by the *Dasyus* in VI, 47, 20 which deserves translation.

"O ye gods! We have travelled and lost our way and come to a region where cattle do not pasture. The extensive region gives shelter to *Dasyus* only. O Vrihaspati! Lead us in our quest of cattle. O Indra! shew the way to your worshippers who have lost their way."

We have seen that the Aryan poets are sufficiently uncompunctilious in speaking of the shouts and yells of the aboriginal barbarians. The civilized conquerors could scarcely imagine that those yells could form a language, and have, therefore, in some places, described the barbarians as without a language. (V, 29, 10, &c.)

Agni has chased the *Dasyus* from their homes (VII, 5, 6); Indra will divert the weapons of the *Dases* (VIII, 24, 27), and will help his followers to appropriate to themselves the riches of the *Dasyus* (VIII, 40, 6).

We have spoken before of Kuyava and Ayu, two aboriginal robbers, who dwelt in fastnesses surrounded by rivers, and harassed the Aryan villages. We have frequent allusions to another powerful aboriginal leader who is called Krishna, probably because of his black complexion. One of the passages relating to him deserves translation:—

"The fleet Krishna lived on the banks of the Ansumati river with ten thousand troops. Indra, of his own wisdom, became cognizant of this loud-yelling chief. He destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of men.

"Indra said—I have seen the fleet Krishna, he is wandering about in the hidden region near the Ansumati, and rules like the sun. O Maruts! I desire you to engage in fight, and to destroy him.

"The fleet Krishna lived gloriously on the banks of the Ansumati. Indra took Vrihaspati as his ally, and destroyed the fleet and godless army." VIII, 96, 13 to 15.

Not only have the aborigines been described as fond of yells and devoid of a language, but they are, in other places, considered as scarcely human. We are told in one place—

"We are surrounded on all sides by *Dasyu* tribes; they do not perform sacrifices; they do not believe in any thing; their rites are different; they are not men! O destroyer of foes! kill them. Destroy the *Dása* race." X, 22, 8.

In X, 49, Indra proclaims that he has deprived the *Dasyu* race of the name of *Arya* (verse 3); that he has destroyed Navavastva and Vrihadratha of the *Dása* race (verse 6); that he cuts the *Dases* in twain, "it is for this fate that they have been born!" (verse 7.).



Such were the aborigines with whom the early Hindus carried on an interminable war, and such was the fate to which they consigned their less civilized neighbours,—the primeval owners of the Indian soil! It is abundantly evident that no love was lost between the conquerors and the conquered. It was by ceaseless fighting that the conquerors protected themselves in their newly conquered country, gradually extended the limits of cultivation, built new villages and threw out new colonies in primeval jungles, and spread the light of civilization and the fame of the Arya prowess around. They dreaded and hated the despised barbarians with a genuine hatred, killed numbers of them when they could, thinned their ranks with their cavalry, called them yelling hounds, and men without a tongue, and brutes below the rank of men, and almost believed they were born to be slain,—“it is for fate that they have been born!” On the other hand, the stubborn barbarians had their revenge, too. Retreating before the more civilized valour of the Hindus, they hung about in every fastness and every bend of a river, they waylaid and robbed travellers, harassed villages, killed or stole the cattle, and sometimes fell on the Hindus in great numbers. With that dogged tenacity which is peculiar to barbarians, they disputed every inch of ground as they retreated; they interrupted the religious rites of the conquerors, despised their gods, and plundered their cattle and their wealth. But in spite of every resistance, the colonies of the more civilized races extended on every direction,—the area of civilization widened,—jungles and wastes were brought under cultivation and dotted with villages and royal towns, and the kingdoms of the early Hindus extended, as we have seen before, from the Punjab as far as the Ganges and the Jumna, even in Vedic times. The barbarians were either exterminated, or retreated before the ever advancing line of Aryan civilization into those hills and fastnesses, where their children still inhabit.

It can be imagined, however, that some among the weaker barbarians preferred abject subjection to extermination or exile. We find traces, accordingly, in the Rig-Veda of *Dasyus*, who at last owned the domination of the more powerful race, and who adopted their religion and their rites, and even their language. In one place we are told of some *Aryas* and *Dāses* who are alike worshippers of Indra and guard his wealth (VIII, 51, 9), and in another place the poet actually compliments two non-Aryan chiefs who had learnt to speak beautifully (!), and who with many cows made preparation for a feast of Manu (X, 62, 10). There are frequent references also to the *Dāses* who had been subjugated by Aryans. These, then, were the first *Hinduized aborigines* of India.

The foregoing extracts will shew that for many centuries together, the early Hīndu settlers of India carried on a fierce war of extermination against the aboriginal tribes living in primeval forests. It must not be supposed, however, that these were the only wars which the early Hindus had to carry on. On the contrary, as Aryan colonies extended on all sides, and bands of colonists settled on the fertile banks of every new river, the Aryans themselves were cut up into different tribes and states, and, as was the case in Greece and in all other ancient countries, these states were involved in frequent hostilities among themselves. Each state was governed by its leader or king, and every able-bodied man within the state was a warrior, ready to defend the state, or march into the neighbouring state for the purposes of plunder or conquest. Disputes over a fertile field or the bend of a river, or the lust for the fat herds of a neighbouring tribe, were a fruitful cause of war in those days, as the lust of a scientific frontier, or the possession of a fortress like Metz, or commercial or "ethnological reasons" are fruitful sources of war in our modern days. Human feelings and passions have been much the same in the ancient world as in the modern world, and disguise it as we may, civilization has done precious little to quell the lust of conquest and the natural greediness of the strong to take a slice out of a weaker neighbour's portion ! . .

We think our readers will obtain a fairly good idea of the wars among the Hindu kings of those days, if we confine our extracts to the wars and deeds of one king Sudāsa, who was a mighty conqueror, and subdued many neighbouring tribes under his sway.

"8. The wily foes planned destruction, and broke down the embankment of Adinā river (to cause an inundation). But Sudāsa filled the earth with his prowess, and the son of Chayāmāna fell like a tame animal.

"9. For the waters of the river flowed through their old channel, and did not take a new course ; and Sudāsa's horses marched over the country. Indra subdued the hostile and talkative men and their children under Sudāsa.

"11. Sudāsa earned glory by killing twenty-one men (chiefs ?) of two states. As the young priest cuts the *kusa* grass in the house of sacrifice, even so Sudāsa cut his enemies. The hero Indra sent the Maruts for his succour.

"12. Indra with his thunderbolt drowned Sruta and Kavasha and Vriddha and Druhya in the water. . .

"14. The six thousand six hundred and sixty-six sons of Anu and Druhya, who had desired for cattle, were laid low for Sudāsa prone to worship. These deeds proclaim the glory of Indra.

" 17. It was Indra who enabled the poor Sudása to achieve these deeds. Indra enabled the goat to kill the strong lion. Indra felled the sacrificial post with a needle. He bestowed all the wealth on Sudása." VII, 18.

The poet who sings these deeds of Sudása's glory is not unrewarded for his immortal verse. For in verse 22 and 23 he acknowledges with gratitude that the valiant conqueror and beneficent king had rewarded him with two hundred cows and two chariots and four horses with gold trappings !

In a subsequent hymn we are told how ten kings combined against Sudása, and Sudása was victorious over them all. A curious description of a battle in this hymn deserves translation.

" 2. Where men raise their banners and meet in battle, where nothing seems to favour us, where the messengers look up to the sky (for omens) and tremble, there, O Indra and Varuna ! help us and speak to us (words of comfort).

" 3. O Indra and Varuna ! the ends of the earth seem to be lost, and the noise ascends to the skies ! The troops of the enemy are approaching us. O Indra and Varuna, who ever listen to prayers ! Come hear us with your protection.

" 4. O Indra and Varuna ! you have pierced the aim which no weapon could have reached, and have saved Sudása. You have listened to the prayers of the Tritsus, their priestly vocation bore fruit in the hour of battle.

" 5. O Indra and Varuna ! the weapons of the enemy assail me on all directions, the foes assail me among marauding men. You are the owners of both kinds of wealth, save us in the day of battle.

" 6. Both parties invoke Indra and Varuna for wealth at the time of war. But in this battle you protected Sudása with the Tritsus who were attacked by ten kings.

" 7. O Indra and Varuna ! the ten kings who do not perform sacrifices \* were unable, though combined, to beat Sudása. . . . " VII, 83.

In VI, 47, there is an address to the trumpet or bugle of war on the eve of battle, and the poet asks that martial instrument to fill the earth and skies with its sound, to rouse movable and immovable objects, to instil fear into the enemy and to drive them away. The address ends with these portentous words— " The bugle (*Dundubhi*) sounds loud to proclaim to all men (the hour of battle). Our leaders have mounted their horses and have collected together. O Indra ! let our warriors, who fight in chariots, win victory."

In a still more remarkable hymn, VI, 75 the preparations and weapons of war have been described in some detail, and a

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\* I believe aboriginal kings are here alluded to.

few extracts from it will convey to our readers a very good idea of military weapons in use in those days.

"1. When the battle is nigh, and the king marches in his armour, he shines like the lightning! O king! let not thy person be pierced; be victorious, let the armour protect you.

"2. We will win cattle with our bows, we shall be victorious with our bows; we will conquer the fierce and proud enemy with our bows. May our bows foil the desires of the enemy; we will spread our conquests on all sides with our bows.

"3. The string of the bow (when pulled) approaches the ear of the archer, as if desirous of saving him in battle; it whispers words of consolation to him, and with a sound it clasps the arrow, even as a loving wife clasps her husband.

"5. The quiver is like the parent of many arrows, the many arrows are like its children. It makes a sound, and hangs on the back of the warrior, and furnishes arrows in battle and conquers the enemy.

"6. The expert charioteer rides on his chariot and leads his horses where he likes. The reins restrain the horses from behind,—sing of their glory.

"7. The horses raise the dust with their hoofs, and career over the field with a neighing sound. They do not run away, but trample the marauding enemies under their feet.

"11. The arrow is feathered; the deer is its teeth.\* Well pulled and sent by the cow-leather-string, it falls (on the enemy.)

"14. The leather guard protects the arm from being hurt by the string, and coils round the arm like a snake. It knows its work, and is efficient and protects the warrior in every way.

"15. We adore the arrow which is poisoned, whose head is fatal, and whose face is of iron; † it is the work of Parjanya."

VI, 75.

Before concluding our extracts under this section, we will make one more, from a hymn about the coronation of kings. It belongs, like all hymns relating to pompous ceremonies, not to the earlier but to the latest period of the Rig-Veda age.

"1. O king, I place you in the station of a king. Be the lord of this country. Be immovable and fixed. Let all the subjects cherish thee. Let your kingdom not be destroyed.

"2. Remain here fixed as the mountain; do not be dethroned. Remain fixed like Indra, and support the kingdom.

"3. Indra has obtained the sacrificial offerings, and supports the newly-coronated king. Soma blesses him. Brahmanaspati blesses him.

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\*I do not know if this means that the arrow-heads were of deer-horn. Sayana gives this as one interpretation.

†This passage shows that the arrow-heads were of iron.

"4. The sky is fixed, the earth is fixed, the mountains are fixed, this universe is fixed. He also is fixed as king among his subjects.

"5. May king Varuna make you immovable; may the good Vrihaspati make you immovable; may Indra and Agni support you and make you immovable.

"6. See, I mix these immortal offerings with the immortal Soma-juice; Indra has brought your subjects under your rule, and made them willing to pay you revenue." X, 173.

These extracts are enough. We have elsewhere shewn that the warriors used not only armours but visors, and also protecting armours for the shoulders, probably shields. They used javelins and battle-axes, and sharp-edged swords, beside bows and arrows. All the weapons of wars known elsewhere in ancient time, were known in India over three thousands years ago. Trumpets or bugles assembled men in battle, banners led them on in compact masses, and the use of war-horses and chariots was well known. Tame elephants were in use, too, and we have allusions to kings riding on richly caparisoned elephants with their ministers (IV, 4, 1); but it does not appear that elephants were regularly used in wars in the Rig-Veda period, as they were in the third and fourth century before Christ when the Greeks came to India.

For the rest, it was a turbulent time, when the Vedic warriors lived and fought. They had not only to carry on an interminable war against the aborigines, but the Hindu States were divided among themselves, and a powerful leader was often bent on annexing his neighbour's State. Rishis engaged in sacrifices, asked for prowess to conquer the foes, or prayed to the gods for a son who would win victory in battles. Every able-bodied man was a warrior, and was ever prepared to defend his home and his fields and his cattle with his strong right arm. Each Hindu colony or tribe, while attentive to the worship of the gods, and to the cultivation of the various arts of peace, was at the same time alive to the fact that its national existence depended on a constant preparedness for war. And the great conglomeration of Hindu tribes which spread from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Ganges, consisted of hardy, brave and warlike peoples, who maintained their footing in the land, and their independence and national existence by constant struggles, and a determination to win or to die.

It is sad to contemplate this state of things. But where is the country in which, in ancient times, tribes and nations had not to maintain a ceaseless war for their aggrandizement, or even for their very existence? And even in modern times, during the fourteen hundred years which have followed the

downfall of Rome, where shall we seek for the tribe or nation which could hope to reap the results of its peaceful industry, without a constant struggle against its neighbours. If a generation has passed in Europe without a dreadful war, that period is marked in history as a period of exceptional bliss. And even in our own times, with the exception of a few countries advantageously situated, all the nations of Europe are armed to the teeth; all the individuals, by millions, of great kingdoms and empires are eternally prepared for war, ready on a week's notice to leave their homes and occupations and march to the frontier! Civilization has done much for the cause of humanity; but civilization has not yet converted the sword into the scythe, or enabled man to reap the results of his peaceful industry without a struggle to the death against his neighbour.

*V.—Social and Domestic Life. The position of Women.*

From an account of the wars and dissensions of the early Hindus, we turn to the more interesting and pleasing subject of their social and domestic rules and to their home life. The first thing that strikes us here, is the absence of those unhealthy rules and restrictions, those marked distinctions between man and man, and between class and class which form the most unpleasant feature of later Hindu society. We have already seen that the sturdy Hindus of the Vedic times recognized no restrictions against the use of beef, and that they refer with pride to their merchants going to the sea. We have seen, too, that the Rishis did not form a separate and exclusive class, and did not pass their lives away from the world in penances and contemplation. On the contrary, the Rishis were practical men of the world who owned large herds of cattle, cultivated their fields, fought against the aboriginal enemies in times of war, and prayed to their gods for wealth and cattle, for victory in wars, and for blessings on their wives and children. Every father of a family was, in fact, a Rishi in a small scale, and worshipped his gods in his own house in his own humble fashion, and the women of the family joined in the worship and helped in the performance of the ceremonies. Some among the community were, of course, prominent in the composition of hymns and in the performance of great sacrifices, and kings and rich men sent for them on great occasions and rewarded them handsomely. But even these great composers, these real Rishis of the Rig-Veda did not form an exclusive caste of their own; they were worldly men, mixed and married with the people, shared property with the people, fought the wars of the people, and were of the people.

One martial Rishi for instance (in V, 23, 2) prays for a son who will conquer the enemies in war. Another (in VI, 20, 1) prays for wealth and corn-fields, and a son who will destroy his foes. Another (in IX, 69, 8) prays for wealth and gold, for horses and cows, for profuse harvests\* and a large progeny. Another Rishi with naïve simplicity says, that his cattle are his wealth and his Indra! (VI, 28, 5.) Throughout the Rig-Veda the Rishis are the people; there is not the shadow of any evidence that the Rishis, or priests, were a "caste" of their own, different from the fighters or the cultivators.\*

This will be considered by impartial judges to be very good evidence that the caste system did not exist. It proves a negative much more convincingly than many positive facts can be proved. In a vast collection of hymns composed probably during eight hundred years and more, and replete with references to the habits and manners and customs of the people, replete with allusions to agriculture and pasture, to arts and manufacture, to wars among rival kings and wars against aborigines, to marriage and domestic rules and the duties and position of women, to religious observances and the elementary astronomy as then known,—we have not one single passage to shew that the community was cut up into separate "*castes*." Is it possible to suppose that that wonderful system existed, and yet there is no allusion to that fundamental principle of society in the ten thousand hymns of the Rig Veda? Is it possible to find a single religious work of later times, of one-twentieth the dimensions of the Rig-Veda, which is silent on that system?

So far, then, we have proved a negative in the only way in which a negative can be proved. But curiously enough there is positive proof in various passages in the Rig-Veda that the "caste" system did not exist. The very word "*varna*" which in later Sanscrit indicates caste, is used in the Rig-Veda to distinguish the Aryans and non-Aryans, and nowhere indicates separate sections in the Aryan community. (III, 34, 9, &c.) The very word *Kshatriya* which, in later Sanscrit, means the military caste, is used in the Veda simply as an

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\* The solitary mention of the four castes in X, 90, 12 will not be considered an exception, or weaken our argument. The hymn itself was composed centuries after the time when the Rig-Veda hymns were generally composed, as is proved by its language and its ideas. It was composed *after the Rik, and the Sam and the Yajur Vedas had been separately classified* (verse 9), and after the idea of the sacrifice the Supreme Being (unknown elsewhere in the Rig-Veda) had found a place in the Hindu religion. The incorporation of this later hymn in the Rig-Veda was, no doubt, a very clever trick, but it does not shew the existence of the caste system in the Vedic times.

adjective which means strong, and is applied to gods! (VII, 64, 2; VII, 89, 1, &c.) The very word *vipra* which, in later Sanscrit, means the priestly caste, is used in the Rig-Veda merely as an adjective, which means wise, and which is applied to gods. (VIII, 11, 6, &c.) And the very word *Bráhmāna* which, in later Sanscrit, means also the priestly caste, is used in a hundred places in the Rig-Veda to imply the composers of hymns and nothing else. (VII, 103, 8, &c.)

We would gladly multiply evidences but that our limits forbid. But we cannot help producing just one evidence more. With that charming simplicity which is the characteristic beauty of the Rig-Veda—one Rishi says pathetically of himself—

“See, I am a composer of hymns, my son is a physician, my daughter fries grain on a stone. We are all engaged in different occupations. As cows wander (in various directions) in the pasture field (for food) so we (in various occupations) worship thee, O Soma! for wealth. Flow thou for Indra.” (IX 112, 3). Those who suppose that the caste system existed in the Vedic times, will have a hard nut to crack in explaining a hundred passages like the above, to be found in the Rig-Veda!

Later asserters of the caste system have sometimes tried to crack these nuts and with the most wonderful results! Like most other Rishis of the Reg-Veda (who, we have seen before, constantly prayed for warlike sons) Visvámitra was a warrior and a Rishi. Later Hindus were shocked at this, and invented a beautiful Pauranik myth to explain how Visvámitra was first a *Kshatriya* and then became a *Brahmana*! Needless endeavour, for Visvámitra was neither a *Kshatriya* nor a *Brahmana*: he was a Vedic Rishi and warrior long before the *Brahmanas* and the *Kshatriyas*, as such, were known! \*

As we have seen then, every father of a family was his own priest, and his home was his temple. There is no mention of idols in the Rig-Veda, none of the temples or places of worship where the people were to congregate. The sacred fire was lighted in the house of every householder, and he chanted the beautiful and simple hymns which were the national property. We

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\* It gives us much pleasure to be able to cite here the authority of two scholars who have devoted their lifetime to the study of the Vedas.

“If then, with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste, as we find it in Manu, and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with a decided No.”—Max Müller's *Chips from a German workshop*, Vol. II (1867), p. 307.

“There are no castes as yet, the people is still one united whole, and bears but one name, that of *Visas*.”—Weber's *Indian Literature* (translation), p. 38. •



have a pleasing picture of women who assisted at these sacrifices, who ordered the necessary things, prepared them with the pestle and the mortar, extracted the Soma-juice and stirred it with their graceful fingers and strained it through a woollen strainer. In numerous places we find mention of wives joining their husbands and performing the sacrifice together. They offer the oblations together, and hope thereby to go to heaven together (I, 131, 3 ; V, 43, 15, &c). A few verses from a grateful hymn on this subject will no doubt interest our readers.

"5. O ye gods! The married couple who prepare oblations together, who purify the Soma-juice and mix it with mixtures.

"6. They obtain food for their eating, and come united to the sacrifice; they have not to go elsewhere in quest of food.

"7. They do make vain promises of offerings to the gods, nor keep back your favours; they worship you with the best offerings.

"8.. They obtain sons and children, they acquire gold, and they both attain to a mature age.

"9. The gods themselves covet the worship of such a couple who are fond of sacrifices, and offer grateful food to the gods. They embrace each other to continue their race, and they worship their gods." VIII, 31.

Still more grateful to us is the picture of cultured ladies who were themselves Rishis, and composed hymns and performed sacrifices like men. For there were no unhealthy restrictions against women in those days, no attempt to keep them secluded or uneducated, or debarred from their legitimate place in society. There is mention of veiled wives and brides, but no allusion to women being kept in seclusion. On the contrary we meet them everywhere in their legitimate spheres of action, taking a share in sacrifices, and exercising their influence on society. We cherish the picture of the cultured lady Visvavará which has been handed down to us through thousands of years,—a pious lady who composed hymns, performed sacrifices, and with simple fervency invoked the god Agni to regulate and keep, within virtuous bounds, the mutual relations of married couples. (V, 28, 3.) We meet with the names of other ladies also who were Rishis of the Rig-Veda.

In a society so simple as that of the Vedic times, the relations of life were determined by the needs and requirements of individuals rather than by religious sanction as in later days, and there was no religious obligation, therefore, that every girl must be married. On the contrary we find allusions to unmarried women who remained in the homes of their fathers, and naturally claimed and obtained a share of the paternal property. (II, 17, 7.) On the other hand, we have frequent references to careful and industrious wives, who superintended

the arrangements of the house, and like the dawn roused and sent every one in the house to his work in the morning (I, 124, 4) and who possessed those domestic virtues for which Hindu wives have always been noted from the earliest to the present times. Occasionally we have allusions to women who went astray (II, 29, 1 ; ) of maidens who had no brothers to watch over their morals, and of wives who were faithless to their husbands (IV, 5, 5 ; X, 34, 4). And we are told of the wife of a ruined gambler who becomes the object of other men's lust (X, 34, 4).

It would seem that girls had some voice in the selection of their husbands. Their selection was not always happy, for "many women are attracted by wealth, and become attached to men who are fond of women. But the woman who is of gentle nature and of graceful form selects, among many, her own loved one as her husband." (X, 27, 12). We can almost imagine we see the *Svayambara* system of later times foreshadowed in the above verse. There can be no doubt, however, that fathers always exercised a wise control in the selection of husbands for their daughters, and, as at the present day, fathers give away their girls gracefully adorned and decked with golden ornaments (IX, 462 ; X, 39, 14).

The ceremony of marriage was an appropriate one, and the promises which the bridegroom and bride made to each other were suitable to the occasion. We will translate some verses from a hymn in the later portion of the Rig-Veda, in which we find a pleasing picture of the ceremony. The first two verses, among the following verses, will shew that the unnatural custom of early marriages was unknown, and that girls were married after they had attained their youth.

"21. O Visvávasu ! (god of marriage,) arise from this place, for the marriage of this girl is over. We extol Visvávasu with hymns and bending in adoration. Go to some other maiden who is still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage. She will be your share, know of her.

"22. O Visvávasu ! arise from this place. We worship thee, bending in adoration. Go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed, make her a wife and unite her to a husband.

"23. Let the paths by which our friends go in quest of a maiden for marriage, be easy and free of thorns. May Aryaman and Bhaga lead us well. O gods ! may the husband and wife be well united.

"24. O maiden ! the graceful sun had fastened thee with ties (of maidenhood,) we release thee now of those ties. We place thee with thy husband in a place which is the home of truth and the abode of righteous actions.

"25. We release this maiden from this place (her father's house), but not from the other place (her husband's house). We unite her well with the other place. O Indra! may she be fortunate and the mother of worthy sons.

"26. May Pushan lead you by the hand from this place. May the two Asvins lead you in a chariot. Go to your (husband's) house and be the mistress of the house. Be the mistress of all, and exercise your authority over all in that house.

"27. Let children be born unto thee, and blessings attend thee here. Perform the duties of thy household with care. Unite thy person with the person of this thy husband; exercise thy authority in this thy house until old age.

"40. First Soma accepts thee; then Gandharva accepts thee; Agni is thy third lord; the son of man is the fourth to accept thee.\*

"41. Soma bestowed this maiden to Gandharva, Gandharva gave her to Agni, Agni has given her to me with wealth and progeny.

"42. O bridegroom and bride! do ye remain here together; do not be separated. Enjoy food of various kinds; remain in your own home, and enjoy happiness in company of your children and grandchildren.

"43. (The bride and bridegroom say).—May Prajapati bestow on us children; may Aryaman keep us united till old age. (Address to the bride): 'O bride! remain with auspicious signs in the home of thy husband. Do good to our male servants and our female servants, and to our cattle.

"44. Be thy eyes free from sin; minister to the happiness of thy husband; do good to our cattle. May thy mind be cheerful; may thy beauty be bright. Be the mother of heroic sons, and be devoted to the gods. Do good to our male servants and our female servants and to our cattle.

"45. O Indra! make this woman fortunate and the mother of worthy sons. Let ten sons be born of her womb, so that there may be eleven men (in the family) with the husband.

"46. (Address to the bride): May thou have influence over thy father-in-law and over thy mother-in-law, and be as a queen over thy sister-in-law and brother-in-law.

"47. (The bridegroom and bride say):—May all the gods unite our hearts; may Vayu and Dhatri and the goddess of speech unite us together." X, 85.

Our extract has been somewhat lengthy, but our readers will not regret it. The extract shews at once the appropriate nature of the ceremony that was performed, and the position

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\* This, and the following verse would shew, that the bride was offered to the three gods before she was united to the bridegroom.

which the young bride occupied in the home and the affections of her lord.

Polygamy was allowed among the kings and the rich people in Vedic times, as it was allowed in olden times in all countries and among all nations. Domestic dissensions were the natural result in such instances, and we have hymns in the latter part of the Rig-Veda, in which wives curse their fellow-wives (X, 145 ; X, 159.) The evil seems, however, to have grown in the latter part of the Vedic age, for there are scarcely any allusions to it in the earlier hymns.

We need scarcely allude to hymns suited to the occasions of conception and child-birth (X, 183 ; X, 184 ; X, 162 ; v, 78, 7 to 9). These hymns were all the product of the last portion of the Vedic age, when superstition and priestly influence were gaining on the people, and ceremonies multiplied. We must allude, however, to two curious verses which seem to lay down the law of inheritance, and is, therefore, of peculiar interest. We give a translation below—

“1. The father who had no son, honors his son-in-law, capable of begetting sons, and goes (*i. e.*, leaves his property) to the son of his daughter. The (son-less) father trusts in his daughter's offspring, and lives content.

“2. A son does not give any of his father's property to a daughter. He gives her away to be the wife of a husband. If a father and mother beget both son and daughter, then one (*i. e.*, son) engages himself in the acts and duties of his father, while the other (daughter) receives honor.” III, 31.

This is the first germ of the Hindu law of inheritance which makes the son, and not the daughter, the inheritor of his father's property and religious duties, and which allows the property to go to the daughter's son only in the absence of male issue. We think we discover the first germs of the Hindu law of adoption too, in such passages as the following :—

“As a man who is not indebted gets much wealth, so we, too, shall get the treasure that endures (*i. e.*, a son). O Agni ! let us not have a son begotten of another. Do not follow the ways of the ignorant.

“A son begotten of another may yield us happiness, but can never be supposed or accepted as one's own. And, besides, he ultimately goes back to his own place. Therefore, may a son be newly born unto us who will bring us food and destroy our foes.” VII, 4, 7 and 8.

As we have spoken in this section of marriage and inheritance, it is necessary to complete our account of social and domestic customs to speak of the funeral ceremony also. Yama, in the Rig-Veda, is not the god of hell, but the god of

the heaven of the righteous,—the god who rewards the virtuous man after his death in a happy land. His two dogs, however, are objects to be avoided, or propitiated. The following verses are taken from a hymn composed, it is needless to say, not in the earlier but in the latest period of the Rig-Veda age when ceremonies multiplied.

“7. O thou deceased! proceed to the same place where our forefathers have gone,—by the same path which they followed. The two kings Yama and Varuna are pleased with the offerings; go and see them.

“8. Go to that happy heaven and mix with the early forefathers. Mix with Yama and with the fruits of thy virtuous deeds. Leave sin behind, enter thy home.

“9. O ye ghosts! leave this place, go away, move away. For the forefathers have prepared a place for the deceased. That place is beautified with day, with sparkling waters and with light; Yama assigns this place to the dead.

“10. O thou deceased! these two dogs have four eyes each, and a strange colour. Go past them quickly. Then proceed by the beautiful path to those wise forefathers, who spend their time in joy and happiness with Yama.” X, 14.

The above passages give us an idea of the belief in future happiness as it was developed in the latest period of the Vedic era.

That cremation was practiced in the Vedic times, as it is now by Hindus, will be shewn by the following extract:

“O fire! do not reduce this deceased into ashes; do not give him pain. Do not mangle his skin or his person. O fire, send him to the home of our fathers as soon as his body is burnt in thy heat.” X, 16, 1.

There are some passages, however, which would seem to indicate that burial, with or without cremation, was also practiced.

“10. O thou deceased, go to the extended earth who is as a mother; she is extensive and beautiful. Her touch be soft as that of wool or of a young wife. You have performed sacrifices, let her save thee from sin.

“11. O earth! hold up deceased, do not give him pain. Give him good things, give him consolation. As a mother covers her child with the hem of her cloth, so cover the deceased.

“12. Let the earth be raised on him as a mound and settle on him. Let a thousand particles of dust rest on him. Let them be to him as a house filled with butter, let them form a shelter to him.” X, 18.

It remains only to allude to one remarkable verse in this very hymn of which we will give Dr. Rajendra Lala's translation.

“Rise up, woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone; come, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who grasps thy hand, and is willing to marry thee.” X, 18, 8.

This translation is based on Sayana's rendering of the passage in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, and there can be no doubt as to its correctness, because the word *Didhishu* used in the passage has only one meaning in the Sanskrit language, *viz.*, the second husband of a woman. We entirely agree, also, in the following remarks with which Dr. Rajendra Lala winds up a paper on Funeral Ceremony in Ancient India. “That the remarriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom, can be established by a variety of proofs and arguments; the very fact of the Sanskrit language having, from ancient times, such words as *Didhishu*, ‘a man that has married a widow,’ *Parapurud*, ‘a woman that has taken a second husband,’ *Paunarbhava*, ‘a son of a woman by her second husband,’ are enough to establish it.”

It is with pain and regret that we will, in conclusion, refer to another passage also belonging to this hymn, and which is perfectly harmless in the Rig-Veda itself, but which was altered and mistranslated in later times, to sanction the custom of *suttee*, or the burning of the widow on the pyre of her husband. That most diabolical of all human institutions finds no sanction in the Rig-Veda. There is a perfectly harmless passage (X. 18, 7) which refers to a procession of females at a funeral ceremony. The passage may be thus translated :

“May these women not suffer the pangs of widowhood. May they obtain husbands according to their desire, and enter their houses with collyrium and butter. Let these women, without shedding tears, and without any illness, enter the house in front, wearing valuable ornaments.”

There is not a word in the above relating to the burning of widows. But a word in it *Agre* was altered into *Agne*, and the text was then mistranslated and misapplied in Bengal, to justify the detestible custom of widow-burning. In the words of Professor Max Müller—“this is, perhaps, the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands and thousands of lives been sacrificed, and a fanatical rebellion been threatened on the authority of a passage which was mangled, mistranslated and misapplied.” *Selected Essays* (1881), Vol. I, p. 335. The censure is strong, but is deserved; it does not matter whether the alteration in the text and the mistranslation were made in recent times or some hundreds of years ago. We decline to believe that the misinterpretation could have arisen from an error.

*VI.—Religion.*

An account of the social life and the civilization of the early Hindus will not be complete without some account of their religion. The religion of the Rig-Veda is well known. It is pre-eminently the worship of Nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The sky which bends over all, the beautiful and blushing dawn which, like a busy housewife, wakes men from slumber and sends them to their work, the gorgeous tropical sun which vivifies the earth, the air which pervades the world, the fire which cheers and enlightens us, and the violent storms which in India strike terror into the boldest, but usher in those copious rains which fill the land with plenty,—these were the gods whom the early Hindus loved to extol and to worship. And often when an ancient Rishi sang the praises of any of the gods with devotion and fervour, he forgot that there was any other god besides, and his sublime hymn has the character and the sublimity of a prayer to the one God of the Universe. This is what makes European scholars often pause and hesitate before they give the Vedic religion any other name than Monotheism. Indeed, the Rishis themselves often rose higher than the level of their primitive Nature-worship, and boldly declared that the different gods were but the different manifestations or the different names of the One Primal Cause. Towards the end of the Rig-Veda we often come across hymns sung to the One True God. The landmarks between Nature-worship and Monotheism have been passed, and the great Rishis of the Rig-Veda have passed from Nature up to Nature's God.

This is the characteristic beauty of the Rig-Veda as compared with the other religious works in the world; we do not find in the Veda any well defined system of religion or any one and particular stage of thought or civilization. On the contrary we watch with interest how the human mind *travels*, travels from an almost childlike but sincere invocation of the rising sun or the beneficent sky, to the sublimer idea that neither the sun nor the sky is a deity,—that the deity is greater and higher than these, and has created these objects. We know of no other work in any language which possesses such interest for the philosophic enquirer into the progress of the human mind, or which shews, as the Rig-Veda does show, how human intelligence travels step by step, higher and higher, until from the created objects it grasps the sublime idea of the Creator.

The sky was naturally the most prominent object of worship, and as the sky assumes various aspects, various names were given to it, and the conception of various deities was formed. The oldest probably is *Dyu* (literally the shining), the Zeus of the Greeks, the first syllable of Jupiter among the Romans,

the Tiu of the Saxons, and the Zio of the Germans. This common name among many Aryan races indicates that the deity was worshipped by the ancestors of all these nations in their first primeval common abode in Asia.

But while Zeus and Jupiter maintained their supremacy among the gods in Greece and in Rome, in India he soon lost his place, and the sky in one of its peculiar functions soon usurped his place. For in India the annual rise of rivers, the fertility of land, and the luxuriance of crops,—all that tends to the happiness of man,—depends not on the sky which shines above us, but on the sky that rains, and *Indra*, which means the rain-giver, soon became the first among the Vedic gods.

Another ancient name of the sky was *Varuna*, the *Uranus* of the Greeks. The word signifies to cover, and *Varuna* was the sky which covered the earth, probably the sky without light, the nightly sky. For we find another name for the bright sky of day, viz., *Mitra*, the *Mithra* of the *Zend-avesta*. Sanscrit commentators naturally explain *Varuna* as the night and *Mitra* as day, and the Iranians worshipped the sun under the name of *Mithra*, and gave the name of *Varuna* to a happy region if not the sky.

These facts show that the idea and name of *Varuna* as a god of sky was known to the ancestors of Aryan nations before those nations separated and migrated to Greece, to Persia, and to India. Indeed the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth and many others are of opinion that before the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians separated, *Varuna* was the highest and holiest of the gods of their common ancestors, and represented the spiritual side of their religion. After the separation took place, this deity of righteousness was, it is alleged, translated in Iran into *Ahura Mazd*, the Supreme Deity; and although in India, *Varuna* yielded the foremost place among gods to the young and vigorous rain-giver *Indra*, still he never became divested of that sanctity and holiness which entered into his first conception, and the holiest hymns of the *Rig-Veda* are his, not *Indra's*. Whatever be the value of these opinions, the fact of *Varuna's* pre-eminent sanctity in the *Rig-Veda* cannot be denied, and we will give a few short translations from hymns to *Varuna* to illustrate this:—

“O *Varuna*! the birds that fly have not attained thy speed, thy power, or thy vigour; the water which flows ceaselessly and the moving wind do not excel thy speed.

“King *Varuna* of unsullied power remains in the firmament, and holds on high the rays of light. Those rays descend downwards, but proceed from above; O! that we may be spared in life.

“King *Varuna* has spread out the path for the course of the



sun. He has made the path for the sun to tread on the firmament where there is no footing. May he rebuke our enemies who pierce our hearts.

"O King Varuna! a hundred and a thousand medicinal drugs are thine; may thy beneficence be vast and deep. Keep unrighteousness away from us, deliver us from the sins we have committed.

"Yonder stars\* which are placed on high, and are seen by night,—where do they go by day? The acts of Varuna are irresistible,—the moon shines brightly by his mandate." I, 24, 6 to 10.

"O Varuna! with an anxious heart I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men with various questions, the sages have all said to me:--'Varuna is angry with thee.'

"O Varuna! what have I done that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper? O thou of irresistible power! explain that to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration, and come unto thee.

"O Varuna! deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our persons. O King! deliver us from sin, even as a thief who has eaten stolen meat is released, even as a calf fastened by a rope is released.

"O Varuna! all this sin is not (wilfully) committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray,—sin is begotten even in our dreams.

"Freed from sin, I will faithfully serve as a slave that Varuna who fulfills our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant, may the Arya god bestow on us knowledge. May the wise deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth." VII, 86, 3 to 7.

O King Varuna! let me not go to the earthen home. O thou of great power! Have mercy, have mercy.

"O Varuna with thy weapons! I come with a trembling person, even like a cloud driven by the wind. O thou of great power! Have mercy, have mercy.

"O rich and pure Varuna! I have been driven against

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\* The word used with text is Riksha, which may either mean stars generally, or the stars of the constellation Great Bear. The root *rich* means to shine, whence in course of time the word Riksha came to have two meanings,—the shining stars of a particular constellation, and an animal with bright eyes and shining glossy hair. By a natural confusion of ideas, therefore, the constellation itself ultimately came to be called the Bear. The question is discussed with remarkable eloquence and learning by Max Müller in his Science of Language, and he explains that "the surprise with which many a thoughtful observer has looked at these seven bright stars, wondering why they were ever called the Bear, is removed by a reference to the early annals of human speech."

righteous acts through weakness. O thou of great power ! have mercy, have mercy.

"Your worshippers have thirsted even when living in water. O thou of great power ! have mercy, have mercy.

"O Varuna ! we are (erring) mortals. In whatever way we have sinned against gods, in whatever manner we have through ignorance neglected thy work,—O ! do not destroy us for these sins." VII, 89, 1 to 5.

These and many other hymns shew that Varuna was never divested in India of that idea of holiness which is said to have entered into his original conception. But nevertheless, Varunā, like Dyū, was supplanted in power by the younger Indra, a god who, as we have said, is peculiarly Indian, and is unknown to other Aryan nations.

One of the most famous legends about Indra, the most famous legend probably in the Aryan world—is about the production of rain. The dark heavy clouds to which man looks up with wistful eyes, but which often disappoint him in seasons of drought, are called by the ancient name of *Vritra*. Vritra is supposed to confine the waters and will not let them descend until the sky-god or rain-god Indra strikes the monster with his thunderbolt. The captive waters then descend in copious showers, rivers rise almost instantaneously, and gods and men rejoice over the changed face of nature. Many are the spirited hymns in the Rig-Veda in which this combat is narrated with much glee and rejoicing. The storm-gods, *Maruts*, help Indra in the combat, the sky and earth tremble at the noise, Vritra long wages an unequal combat, and then falls and dies,—the drought is over, and rains begin.

We have said that *Indra* is a peculiarly Indian name, and is unknown to other Aryan nations. But the legend given above and the name of Vritra appear in various shapes among various Aryan nations. Vritraghna, or the slayer of Vritra, is worshipped in the Zendavesta as Verethraghna, and we also find in the same work an account of the destruction of Ahi which in the Veda is another name for Vritra. Threyetana is the slayer of Ahi,—and the genius of the great French scholar Burnouf has recognized this identical Threyetana in the Ferudin of Ferdusi's Shah Nama,—translated from mythology to history after thousands of years ! It will probably surprise modern readers more to know that scholars have traced this Ahi of the Veda and the Zendavesta in the dragon Echis and Echidna of Greek mythology, that in the dog Orthros the offspring of Echidna. they have recognised our old friend Vritra or the rain-cloud, and Hercules therefore, the slayer of Orthros, is the counterpart of Threyetana of Zendavasta and of Indra of the Rig-Veda !

It would be easy to multiply such legends, but our limits forbid such a course, and we will therefore only briefly make a passing mention of one more legend, *viz.*, that about the recovery of light by Indra after the darkness of night. The rays of light are compared to cattle which have been stolen away by the powers of darkness, and Indra (the sky) seeks for them in vain. He sends *Saramá*, i. e., the dawn, after them, and *Saramá* finds out the *Bilu*, or fortress, where the *Panis* or powers of darkness have concealed the cattle. *Pani* tries to tempt *Saramá* but in vain. *Saramá* comes back to Indra, and Indra marches with his forces, destroys the fort and recovers the cattle;—darkness is gone, and it is day! This is a well known Vedic legend, and there are constant allusions to it in the hymns to Indra.

Professor Max Müller has scarcely succeeded in persuading European thinkers to believe that the story of the siege of Troy is a development of this simple Vedic myth, and is “but a repetition of the daily siege of the East by the solar powers that every evening are robbed of their brightest treasures in the West.” Ilium, according to the Professor, is *Bilu*, the cave or the fortress of the Rig-Veda. Paris is the *Panis* of the Veda who tempt, and Helena is the Vedic *Saramá* who resists the temptation in the Veda, but succumbs to it in Greek mythology.

We will now make short extracts from the Rig-Veda, illustrating these two legends:—

“We sing the heroic deeds which were performed by Indra with his thunderbolt. He destroyed Ahi (clouds,) and caused rains to descend, and opened out the paths for the mountain streams to roll.

“Indra slayed Ahi (clouds) resting on the mountains, Twashtri had made the far-reaching thunderbolt for him. Water in torrents flowed towards the sea, as cows run eagerly towards their calves.

“Indra quaffed the Soma-juice like a bull, he drank the Soma libations offered in the three sacrifices. He then took the thunderbolt, and thereby slayed the eldest of the Ahis.

“When you killed the eldest of the Ahis, you destroyed the contrivances of the artful contrivers. You cleared the sun and the morning and the sky, and left no enemies (clouds) behind.

“Indra with his all-destructive thunderbolt slayed the Vritra (cloud) which had shrouded the earth, and lopped his limbs. Ahi now lies touching the earth like the arm of a tree lopped off by the axe.

“The proud Vritra thought that he had no equal, and defied the destroyer and conqueror Indra to combat. But he did not

escape destruction, and Indra's foe fell,—crushing the rivers in his fall.

“Glad waters are bounding over the (prostrate body) as rivers flow over fallen banks. Vritra when alive had withheld the water by his power, Ahi now lies prostrate under that water.

“The prostrate body lies concealed and nameless under ceaseless and restless waters, and the waters flow above. Indra's foe sleeps the long sleep.” I, 32, 1 to 6, & 8 & 10.

The above is one of the hymns relating to the legend of Vritra. We now turn to a hymn relating to the legend of Saramá.

*The Panis say :* “O, Saramá ! why hast thou come here ? It is a long distance. He who looks back cannot come this way. What have we with us for which thou hast come ? How many nights hast thou travelled ? How didst thou cross the river ?

*Saramá replies :* “I come as the messenger of Indra. O Panis ! it is my object to recover the abundant cattle which you have collected. The water has protected me, the water felt a fear at my crossing, and thus I crossed the river.

*The Panis :* “What is that Indra like, whose messenger thou art, and hast come from a long distance. How does he look ? Let him come, we will own him as a friend. Let him take and own our cows.

*Saramá :* “I do not see any one who can conquer the Indra whose messenger I am, and have come from a long distance. It is he who conquers every body. The deep rivers cannot restrain his course. O Panis ! you will surely be slain by Indra and will lie down.

*Panis :* “O beautiful Saramá ! thou hast come from the farthest ends of the sky, we will give thee without any dispute such of these cows as thou desirest. Who else would have given thee cattle without a dispute. We have many sharp weapons with us.

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*Panis :* “O Saramá ! thou hast come here because the gods threatened thee and sent thee here. We will accept thee as a sister,—do not return. O beautiful Saramá ! we will give thee a share of this cattle.

*Saramá :* “I do not comprehend your words about brothers and sister. Indra and the powerful sons of Angiras know all. They have sent me here to guard the cattle until recovery. I have come here under their shelter. O Panis ! run away far, far from here.” X, 108, 1 to 5, 9 & 10.

It will be seen from the few extracts we have made that the hymns to Indra are characterized by force and vigour, as those to Varuna are marked with a feeling of righteousness. Indra is in fact the most vigorous of the Vedic gods, fond of soma

wine, delighting in war, leading his comrades, the *Maruts*, to fight against drought, leading hosts of Aryans against the black aborigines, and helping them to carve out for themselves, with their strong right arms, the most fertile spots along the five rivers of the Punjab. The sky and earth gave him birth as a cudgel for the enemies (III, 49, 1.). The young and vigorous infant went to his mother Aditi for food, and saw soma wine on her breast;—he drank soma before he drank from his mother's breast (III, 48, 2 & 3). And the great drinker and fighter often hesitates between the temptation of soma libations at sacrifices, and the temptation of his home where a beautiful wife awaits him). III, 53, 4 to 6.)

We have so long spoken of Dyū and Varuna and Mitra and Indra as the principal sky-gods of the Rig-Veda. All these gods may however also be considered as gods of light, as the idea of the bright light of sky enters into the conception of all these deities, even of Varuna in some passages. We will now however speak of some deities who have more distinctly a solar character, and some of whom are grouped together under the common name of Adityas or sons of Aditi. And this brings us to the most remarkable name, perhaps, that occurs in the Rig-Veda mythology. Unlike Indra, which comes from *Ind* to rain, and Dyū which comes from *Dyū* to shine, the word Aditi involves a more complicated idea. Aditi means the undivided, the unlimited, the 'eternal. It is in reality, as Professor Max Müller says, the earliest name invented by man to express the Infinite,—the visible infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. The fact that such an idea should enter into the conception of a deity, argues a remarkable advance in the culture and thought of the early Hindus. The word has no counterpart among the names of the deities of other ancient Aryan nations, and must have been coined in India after the Indo-Aryan section had settled in this country. It means, according to the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth, the eternal and inviolable principle,—the celestial light.

There is much confusion in the Rig-Veda as to who are the Adityas,—the sons of this celestial light. In II, 27 Aryaman and Bhaga and Daksha and Ansa are named beside Varuna and Mitra of whom we have spoken before. In IX, 114 and in X, 72, the Adityas are said to be seven in number, but are not named. We have seen before, that Indra is called a son of Aditi. Savitri, the sun, is often described as an Aditya, and so are Pushan and Vishnu, who are also different names of the sun. We will therefore leave alone the word Aditya, and make a few remarks on the different names by which the sun, in its different aspects, was worshipped.

Surya and Savitri are the most common names of the sun in the Rig-Veda,—the former word answering to the Greek Helios, the Latin Sol the Tuton Tyr, and the Iranian Khorshed. Commentators draw a distinction between Savitri, the rising or the unrisen sun, and Surya the bright sun of day. The golden rays of the sun were naturally compared with arms, until a story found its place in the Hindu mythology that Savitri lost his arm at a sacrifice, and it was replaced by a golden arm. The same story re-appears in a different form in German mythology, in which the sun-god Tyr placed his hand in the mouth of a tiger and lost it!

The only extract we will make from the hymns to the sun will be that most celebrated of all the verses in the Rig-Veda, the Gáyatri, or the morning hymn of the later Brahmans. But the Rig-Veda recognized no Brahmans, the caste system was not formed then, and the sublime hymn was the *national* property of the early Hindus, who dwelt on the banks of the Indus. We give the late H. H. Wilson's translation.

"We meditate on the desirable light of the divine Savitri, who influences our pious rites."

Pushan is the sun as viewed by shepherds in their wanderings in quest of fresh pasture lands. The hymns to Pushan therefore often breathe a simplicity which is truly pastoral. Pushan is requested to lead by safe paths to new pasture fields, and to save the travellers from enemies. A few extracts from such hymns have been given before.

Vishnu has obtained such a prominent place as the Supreme Deity in later Hinduism, that there is a natural reluctance among orthodox modern Hindus to accept him in his Vedic character as a mere sun-god. Yet such he is in the Rig-Veda, and he is quite an inferior deity in the Vedic pantheon,—far below Indra or Varuna, Savitri or Agni. It was not till the days of the Satapatha Brahmana that Vishnu obtained some prominence among gods; and it was not till the Puranik times,—long after the Buddhistic revolution,—that Vishnu was considered as a supreme deity.

Fire was naturally an object of worship among all ancient nations, and in India sacrificial fire received the highest regard. As no sacrifice could be performed without fire, Agni or Fire was called the invoker of the gods. He was called Yavishtha, or the "youngest" among the gods, because he was kindled anew at each time of sacrifice by the friction of *arani*, or the sacrificial wood. For this reason, he also received the name of Pramantha, or produced by friction.\*

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\* The writer of the present paper examined with much interest a sample of Arani in the museum of Oxford, by which fire could be produced in less than a minute. If we may believe Mr. Cox, many of the Greek

So high was the esteem in which fire was held among the gods of the Rig-Veda, that when the ancient commentator Yaska, tried to reduce the number of the Vedic gods into three, he named Agni or fire as the god of the earth, Indra or Vayu as the god of the firmament, and the Sun as the god of the sky.

*Vayu*, or the air, has received less consideration at the hands of the Vedic bards, and there are but few hymns assigned to him. But the Maruts, or the storm-gods, are oftener invoked as we have seen before, probably because they inspired more terror, and they are considered as the companions of Indra in obtaining rain from the reluctant clouds! Rudra is a fierce deity, the father of the Maruts, loud-sounding as his name signifies, and a form of fire as the commentators Yaska and Sayana explain. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the correctness of Dr. Roth's conclusion, that the original meaning of this loud-sounding fire, this father of storms, is—thunder.

Like Vishnu, Rudra is a third rate deity in the Rig-Veda, and only a few hymns are assigned to him. But like Vishnu, Rudra has attained prominence in later times, and is one of the Hindu Trinity of the Pauranik religion, a portion of the Supreme Deity. In some of the Upanishads we find the names *Kali*, *Karali*, &c., used as the names of different kinds of flame, and \*Durga, too, is a name of fire, and in the white Yajus Sanhita, we find Ambikā spoken of as the sister of Rudra. But when Rudra assumed a more distinct individuality in the Puranas, all these names were construed as the different names of his wife,—the Durga or Kali of our modern days! We have only to add that none of these goddesses, nor Lakshmi the wife of Pauranik Vishnu, is so much as mentioned even by name in the Rig-Veda.

Another god who has also changed his character in the Puranas, (and very much for the worse!) is Yama, the king of the dead. In the Puranas he is called the child of the sun, and there are some reasons (which Professor Max Müller explains with his usual eloquence,) for supposing that the original conception of Yama in the Rig-Veda is the conception of the departing sun. The sun sets and disappears, just as a

and Latin deities owe their name to the Sanscrit names of Fire. "In this name, Yavishtha, which is never given to any other Vedic god, we may recognize the Hellenic Hephaistos. *Note.* Thus, with the exception of Agni, all the names of the Fire and the Fire-gods were carried away by the Western Aryans; and we have Prometheus answering to Pramantha, Phoroneus to Bharanyu, and the Latin Vulcanus to the Sanscrit, Ulka."—*Cox's Mythology of Aryan Nations.*

"Agni is the god of fire; the Ignis of the Latins, the Ognī of the Slavonians."—*Muir's Sanscrit Texts.*

man's life ends : and the imagination of a simple race would easily conjure up an after world, where that departed deity would preside over departed spirits.

According to the Rig-Veda, Vivasvat, the sky, is the father, and Saranyu, the dawn, is the mother of Yama and his sister Yami. Who can be the offspring of the sky and the dawn but the sun or the day? It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the twins Yama and Yami are, as Professor Max Müller explains, day and night in their original conception. There is a curious passage in the Rig-Veda in which the amorous sister Yami desires to embrace her brother as her husband, but the brother declines such union as unholy (X, 10). It is not difficult to fathom the import of this conversation ;—Day and Night, though eternally pursuing each other, can never be united.

But whatever the original conception of Yama may be, there is no doubt that, even in the Rig-Veda itself, that deity has attained a distinct individuality, and he is the king of the departed. So far his Vedic character agrees with his Pauranik character, but here the parallel ends. In the Veda he is the beneficent king of the happy world, where the virtuous live and enjoy themselves in after life. How different is the character he bears in the Puranas as the cruel and dread Punisher of the guilty.

The following extract embodies the Vedic idea of future happiness. We will only remark here, that allusions to the future world are brief and rare in the earlier portions of the Veda, that the belief seems to have gradually spread and become definite in the course of many centuries, and that there is no description of future life, like the one we quote below, except towards the very end of the work. And this illustrates a remark we made in the commencement, that the Rig-Veda shews the *growth* of the human mind, the *progress* of the human intellect.

“O my mind ! serve Yama the son of Vivasvat with offerings. He takes men of virtuous deeds to the realm of happiness. He clears the way for many ; all people go to him.

“Yama first pointed out to us the way in which we must travel. That path will not be destroyed again. All living beings will, according to their acts, follow by the path by which our forefathers have gone.” X, 14 & 12.

We may also quote here another passage from a hymn to Soma, which contains a fuller allusion to the future world. Soma, it is well known was the juice of a plant made into wine, and used as libation in sacrifices. Soma soon attained the rank of a deity, and all the hymns of the ninth Mandala are dedicated to him. •



“O flowing Soma! take me to that immortal and eternal home where light dwells eternal, and which is in heaven. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

“Take me where Yama is king, where there are the gates of heaven, and where mighty rivers flow. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

“Take me where there is the third heaven, where there is the third realm of light above the sky, and where one can wander at his will. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

“Take me where every desire is satiated, where god Pradhna has his abode, where there is food and contentment. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.

“Take me where there are various pleasures and joys and delights, where every desire of the anxious heart is satiated. Take me there, and make me immortal. Flow, Soma! for Indra.” IX, 113, 7 to 11.

We have spoken above of Yama and Yami as the twin-children of Vivasvat, the sky, by Saranyu, the dawn. It is remarkable that the same parents begot another twin offspring,—the two Asvins. There can be little doubt that they too, like Yama and Yami, were in their original conception the day and the night, or the dawn and the evening, as Professor Max Müller thinks, or “the transition from darkness to light when the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin-nature of these gods,” as the late Dr. Goldstücker thought. The change from light to darkness and the intermingling of the two struck the early Aryans of India, and suggested that idea of twins which is so often observed in the Vedic pantheon.

But whatever the original conception of the Asvins may be, they appear in the Rig-Veda as great physicians: healers of the sick and the wounded, and tending many persons with kindness. Long lists of the kind acts of the two Asvins are given in several hymns, and the same cures are spoken of over and over.

Brahmanaspati is, as his name implies, the lord of hymns, Brahma in the Rig-Veda meaning hymn, and Brahmá meaning one of the priests whose duty it was to preside at sacrifices. The idea of this deity, Brahmanaspati,—or Brahmá as he is sometimes styled,—quite a third rate god-head in the Rig-Veda, was developed into the Supreme Creator of the universe in Pauranik mythology. Thus, by looking into our national records of the farthest antiquity, we trace the simple beginnings of that gorgeous Pauranik mythology which has since, for over a thousand years, swayed the opinions and conduct of hundreds of millions of our countrymen and countrywomen. It is like

tracing one of our great Indian rivers which spreads for miles together at its mouth to its very source, where a narrow but pure and crystal streamlet issues from the eternal mountains! Ideas develop in the course of time, just as rivers expand and receive fresh supplies of water in their course, until they lose all their primitive character, although still bearing the same names. And we can no more recognize the simple Vedic character of Brahmá the lord of prayer, of Vishnu the sun, and of Rudra the thunder, in the Supreme Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Puránas, than we can recognize the crystal streamlet at Hardwar in the sea-like expanse of the Ganges where it mingles with the Bay of Bengal.

These are all the important gods of the Rig-Veda. Of the goddesses, there are only two who have any marked individuality, *viz.*, Ushá the dawn, and Sarasvati the goddess of the river of that name, and afterwards the goddess of speech.

There is no lovelier conception in the Rig-Veda than that of the dawn, and there are no hymns in the work more truly touching and poetical than those dedicated to her. She was known by various names, and most of these names and the legends connected with them were brought by the Hindus from their original abode, since we find phonetical equivalents of these names, and a repetition of some of the legends too in Greek mythology. Ushá is the Eos of the Greeks and the Aurora of the Latins, Arjuni (the white one) is the Greek Argynoris, Brisaya is Briseis, Dahana is Daphne, Saramá is phonetically equivalent to the Greek Helena, and Saranyu, the mother of Yama and of the Asvins, is the Greek Erinyes, and Ahana is the renowned goddess Athena.

We have already alluded to the legend of Saranyu running away from her husband Vivasvat, and then giving birth to the twin Asvins. We find the same legend among the Greeks who believed in Erinyes Demeter running away in the same manner, and giving birth to Areion and Despoina. The idea in both cases is the same; it is the dawn disappearing as the day advances. The same idea has given rise to another beautiful Greek legend whose origin, too, we trace in the Rig-Veda. In many passages (I, 115, 2, for instance,) we find allusions of the sun pursuing the dawn as a man pursues a woman. The Greek Apollo in the same way pursues the Greek Daphne, until she is metamorphosed, *i. e.*, the dawn disappears!

Sarasvati, as her name signifies, is the goddess of the river of that name, which was considered holy, because of the religious rites performed on its banks and the sacred hymns uttered there. By a natural development of ideas, she was considered the goddess of those hymns, or in other words

the goddess of speech, in which character she is worshipped now. She is the only Vedic goddess whose worship continues in India to the modern day; all her modern companions, Durga, Kali, Lakshmi, and others, are creations of a later day.

Such is the nature-worship of the Rig-Veda; such were the gods and goddesses whom our forefathers worshipped over three thousand years ago on the banks of the Indus. The conception of the nature-gods and the simple and manly fervency with which they were adored, argue the simplicity and vigour of a manly conquering race, as well as the culture and thoughtfulness of a people who had already made a considerable advance in civilization. There are no indications in the Rig-Veda of any "temples reared by mortal hands," and consecrated as places of worship. On the contrary, every householder, every patriarch of his family, lighted the sacrificial fire in his own home, and poured libations of the Soma-juice, and prayed to the gods in the hymns which were then the common property of the nation, for happiness to his family, for abundant crops and wealth of cattle, for immunity from sickness and victory over the black aborigines. There was no separate priestly caste, and men did not retire into forests, and subject themselves to penances in order to meditate on religion, and chant these hymns. On the contrary, the old Rishis, the real Rishis as we find them in the Rig-Veda and not the fabled ones of whom we hear such monstrous stories in the Puranas, were worldly men,—men with considerable property in crops and in cattle, and surrounded by large families; men who, in times of danger, exchanged the plough for the spear and the sword, and defended against the black barbarians those blessings of civilization which they solicited from their gods, and secured with so much care.

But though each householder was himself the priest, the warrior and the cultivator, yet we find evidence of kings and rich men performing rites on a large scale by men specially proficient in the chanting of hymns and other religious rites, and hired for the purpose. And as we go towards the latter end of the Rig-Veda, we find this class of professional priests gaining in reputation and in wealth, honored by chiefs and kings, and rewarded by gifts of cattle and cars. We find mention of particular families specially proficient in the performance of religious rites and in the composition of hymns, and many of the existing hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed by members of these families, and were traditionally learnt by rote and preserved in those families.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda are divided into ten *mandalas*, so arranged according to the Rishis by whom they were com-

posed. The first and the last\* mandalas contain hymns composed by numerous Rishis, but the remaining eight mandalas belong, each of them, to a particular Rishi, or rather to a particular house or school of Rishis. Thus, the second mandala is a collection of hymns composed by Gritsamada of the house of Bhrigu and his descendants, the third mandala belongs to Visvámitra, the fourth mandala belongs to Vamadeva, the fifth to Atri, the sixth to Bháradvaja, the seventh to Vasishtha, the eighth to Kanva, and the ninth to Angiras. All these names are familiar to modern Hindus through the numberless legends which have surrounded them in Pauranik times, and modern Hindus still love to trace their descent from these ancient and revered houses.

It is to these and other venerable houses that the Aryan world owes the preservation of the most ancient compositions of the Aryan race. From century to century the hymns were handed down without break or intermission, and the youths of the priestly houses spent the prime of their life in learning by rote the sacred songs from the lips of their grey-headed sires. It was thus that the inestimable treasure, the Rig-Veda, was preserved for a thousand years and more, by memory alone.

With the progress of civilization, and as religious rites were more and more monopolized by professional priests, the simple religion of the earlier times underwent a change. Priests boldly grappled with the deeper mysteries of nature, they speculated about creation and about the future world, and while continuing the worship of the nature-gods, they attained to the conception of the Supreme Deity. We find evidence of all this in the last portions of the Veda. We have already quoted some verses about the future world, we will add here some more about creation and about the great Creator.

‘That All-wise Father saw clearly, and after due reflection, created the sky and the earth in their watery form, and touching each other. When their boundaries were stretched afar, then the sky and the earth became separated.

‘“He who is the all-creator (Visvakarmá) is great; he creates and supports all; he is above all and sees all. He is beyond the seat of the seven Rishis. So the wise men say, and the wise men obtain fulfilment of all their desires.

“He who has given us life; he who is the creator; he who knows all the places in this universe—he is one, although he bears the names of many gods. The people of all words wish to know of him.

“You cannot comprehend him who has created all this; your mind has not attained the power to comprehend him. People make guesses, being shrowded in a mist; they take their

food for the support of their life, and utter hymns and wander about." X 82, 1, 2, 3 and 7.

The incomprehensible nature of the deity has never been more graphically put than in the preceding hymn of our forefathers.

"At that time what is, was not, and what is not, was not. The earth was not, and the far stretching sky was not. What was there that covered? Which place was assigned to what object? Did the inviolate and deep water exist?"

"At that time death was not nor immortality, the distinction between day and night was not. There was only ONE who lived and breathed without the help of air, supported by himself. Nothing was, except HE.

"At first darkness was covered in darkness. All was without damarkation; all was of watery form. That Omnipresent was covered by what did not exist. He was born by meditation.

"Desire arose on the mind, the cause of creation was thus produced. Wise men reflect, and in their wisdom ascertain the birth of what is from what is not.

"Males with generating seed were produced, and powers were also produced. Their rays extended on both sides and below and above, a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.

"Who knows truly? Who will describe? When was all born? Whence were all these created? *The gods have been made after the creation.* Who knows whence they were made?"

"Whence all these were created, from whom they came, whether any one created them or did not create,—is known only to him who lives as Lord in the highest place. Or, perhaps, he does not know." X, 129.

Such is the first recorded attempt among the Aryan nations of the earth to pierce into the mysteries of creation; such are bold and sublime if somewhat vague ideas which dawned in the minds of our forefathers over three thousand years ago, regarding the commencement of this great universe. One more hymn we will quote here,—a remarkable hymn,—shewing how the later Rishis soared beyond the conception of the Nature-gods to the sublime idea of One Deity.

"In the beginning, he of the golden womb existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He has placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him who has given life and strength; whose will is obeyed by all the gods; whose shadow is like immortality, and whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him who, by his power, is the sole king of all the living beings that see and move; him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him by whose power these snowy mountains have been made, and whose creations are this earth and its oceans. Him whose arms are these various directions. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him who has fixed in their places this sky and this earth; him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven; him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings?"

"Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have been fixed and expanded; him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; him by whose support the sun rises and gains its lustre. Whom shall we worship with offerings?" X, 121, 1 to 6.

We now see the force of the remark that the religion of the Rig-Veda is a progressive religion, that it travels from nature up to nature's god. We see the entire journey of the human mind in this wonderful book, from the simple child-like admiration of the ruddy dawn, to the deep and sublime attempt of the thoughtful priest to grasp the mysteries of creation and its great creator.

But unfortunately this progress was not unattended with evils. As the priestly class rose in power and in knowledge, in wordly influence and in true wisdom, the worship of the ancestral gods fell almost entirely into their hands, and the people lost their manly self-reliance and sank under priestly influence. In the concluding portions of the Rig-Veda therefore, we find evidences on the one hand of high thought and culture and bold speculations of the priests, and on the other hand of the growing superstition of the people. The numerous mantras to be uttered in cases of snake-bite, or diseases, or on the shrieking of an owl, all belong to the last period of the Rig-Veda age, and betoken a growing dependence on the priestly class. At the close of the Rig-Veda, therefore, we discern the first germs of all that was the glory, and all that was the shame of Hindu civilization. The first speculations of philosophy and science have commenced,—and the slavish subjection of the nation to a priestly class has also commenced!

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

ART. V.—LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FRIEDRICH AUGUST, PRINCE OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN-SONDERBURG-AUGUSTENBURG. (GRAF VON NOER).

1. *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens.* (Things New and Old from Eastern Lands.) Hamburg. W. Mauke Söhne. Second Edition, 1870.
2. *Kaiser Akbar, ein Versuch über die Geschichte Indiens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert.* (The Emperor Akbar, an Essay towards the history of India in the 16th Century.) Lieden. E. J. Brill, 1880.
3. *Briefe und Auszeichnungen aus seinem Nachlass, herausgegeben von Carmen, Gräfin von Noer.* (Letters and Extracts from papers left by the Count von Noer. Edited by Carmen, Countess von Noer. Nördlinger. Verlag der C. H. Bech'schen Buchhandlung. 1886.

IT is pleasant to be reminded that there yet shines a star over India which has power to witch men from distant homes, to tread her shores and the misty mazes of her story. One man so fascinated was he who is the subject of this notice and to him India was the dream of boyhood and the goal of his dominant enthusiasm. Born to a high place in the world's ranks, a prince and potential sovereign, he gently shook off the fetters which politics and pleasure might have rivetted on him even in exile, and yielded his obedience to the more puissant attractions of an ideal of his own—the East. A vague word, and so too for many years, was the direction of the cult, but the devotee's worship eventually took form and set into definite acts. The first of these was the book entitled "*Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens*," and the second was a life of the Emperor Akbar.

Friedrich Christian Charles August, Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg—to give him the full title which distinguishes him from other houses of the Duchies—was born on November 16th, 1830, at Schleswig, of which fort his father, Prince Friedrich Emile August was commandant. The first eighteen years of his life were passed between the town of his birth and Noer, his paternal estate. Prince Emile was a soldier through and through and regarded his profession as the only one possible to a man of rank. He was not readily accessible to novel ideas and never, even remotely, anticipated the possibility of his son's taking a new path and deserting his natural calling of arms. Prince Friedrich was, however, heir of other elements

than those which constituted his father's simple and martial character; he had part in his mother's gentler and more chastened spirit.

This lady, Countess Henriette von Daneskiold-Samsøe, was one of those women without fam, who are amongst the potent factors of human history, by reason of their power to guide. She was the object of her children's reverential affection, and it may be said of her with truth, that her effluence was tenderness. Years after she has gone to her rest, a stranger finds the perfume of her character clinging round the home of her early married life, in traditions of her gracious presence and benign thoughtfulness. It was she who fostered, by sharing her son's bias to books, and she supported him too, in his at times, self-willed divergence from his father's plans. She was an invalid during most of her life and there is ample suggestion in the volume from which most of the material for this sketch of her son's life is gathered (Letters and Extracts) that the young prince, together with her happy gifts of mind and temper, drew also that delicacy of constitution which alloyed his life. It was partly in consequence of this delicacy and partly a result of his father's predilection for a manly military training that the boy's education was desultory and insufficient. It was not, he says, till 1848 that he had a tutor who gave him any conception of what to learn meant. With this teacher, a gentleman named Knuth, he was in that year, in his usual summer home of Noer, and reading Greek and Latin with seeming profit, when his studies were rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the rebellion in the Duchies.

Noer is a long stretch of wood, arable and pasture land, which lies some fourteen miles west of Kiel, along Eckernfjärde, an inlet of the Baltic. In itself, it is better fitted to be the brooding place of fancy than the school of arms, for tranquility rests upon it, at least in stormless summer, with folded wings. Whether one looks across its fiord to the gently rising hills, or strolls in its cloistered woods, or watches the meditations of its mighty herds, one breathes only air of prevailing peace. Its beeches climb down to meet the sea; their mossy fringe of turf touches the weedy hem of the translucent waters; inland, pines open gloomy depths to show fit scenes for fairy folk, and at twilight one chances on browsing deer or thrills to their swift scud across the glades. The young heir of all these delights appreciated them and seems to have passed the greater part of eighteen years contentedly amongst them. In 1848, a year momentous in history and full of special and evil consequence to his family, the beloved home at Noer was broken up never to be restored. Prince Emile thought himself called by duty to head the revolted army of the Duchies, and his son wa



enrolled under him. A soldier's life was not to the boy's taste, but he did his best by energetic drill, to qualify himself to play a worthy part in the contest. Besides his aversion for war, another sentiment contributed to make the present struggle distasteful,—distress at the rupture of the ties which bound his family to his Danish kinsfolk. Of this feeling, the following passage from his autobiography is proof: "I tried to do my duty as a German, but it was not always easy. My mother was born a Daneskiold, and how many dear friends and kinsmen had we not in Denmark. Besides I was seventeen, and up to that time a stranger to politics." It is not our place to follow the course of the war further than as it affected our young soldier. His letters to his mother who fearing to be taken as a hostage, had gone to Rendsburg and later, for greater security, to Hamburg, are graphic and lively, making the best of considerable discomforts and detailing his adventures. He always had pleasant comrades, a significant fact which casts a becoming light back on himself. One night he is in a "musty den," which reminds him of scenes in "our dear Walter Scott," and on another occasion he begs for books, "Kühner's Greek Grammar and anything nice and profitable," to supplement his available mental pabulum, the Bible and a Life of Alexander. A letter written from the camp to his father at this time, shows that he did not stand in ceremonious awe of his general. "Men always want what they have not got. So it is with our captain, who is longing for our blue coats. For my own granny, please send me a proper helmet of no matter what shape. The felt helmets, provided for us three infants (Prince Christian, Prince John of Glücksburg and himself) are so fantastic and theatrical, that the squadron will never keep countenance at sight of them." The war dragged on, chiefly in inaction for the younger prince, and this inaction, combined with irritation at the delay of prussian reinforcements, so fretted him that he at length wrote to his father (who had already quitted the field) saying that the sooner he also took leave the better, if the national rising was to be a mere demonstration, and that the affair disgusted him even more than it had done at first; so that he had not in his ensuing exile, the comfort of suffering for an offence which he had been happy in committing! The above letter was written in July and in the following October, we find him in London and on the eve of a voyage to Australia, undertaken for the restoration of his health which had been somewhat severely compromised by the exposures of the campaign.

When the plan of a voyage was mooted, Prince Friedrich, who even as a child had his fancy filled with marvellous notions about the East, had ardently desired to be sent to India but the

gratification of his wish was forbidden by climatic considerations. On November 3rd 1849, he sailed from Plymouth in the *Alfred* and under charge of its commander, Captain Carr. His letters home are bright, boyish and full of interest in the novelties of his life: they tell at length of inland expeditions in Australia; of the hospitality of his colonial hosts and of the fun he derived from his shifting circumstances—one day parading Melbourne under the wing of honest Captain Carr and another receiving, as an "illustrious personage," a salute of 21 guns. His return voyage brought him to the very gates of his imaged paradise, for he set foot in Ceylon and Madras and stayed some three weeks in Calcutta. He had cherished the plan of a sight of the Himálayas and of Kashmír but fever restricted his excursions to the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

In October, he reluctantly quitted Bengal and voyaged to Egypt whence, with a mind satiate with wonders, he crossed to Smyrna. The singular beauty of this city impressed him greatly, and one of his best passages is devoted to the celebration of her charms. The inroad of martial duty on his studies in 1848, had not destroyed his book-mindedness and he enjoyed now the subtle pleasure of congruity, by reading the right books in the right spot and took Herodotus and Homer in hand. In January 1851, he is in Constantinople, and lamenting to his father, his coming departure for Europe. Naturally he does not reckon the City of the Golden Horn as amongst things european and delayed there until peremptory injunctions to return to Germany reached him. One feature of his letters is especially clear now and henceforth—definiteness of opinion in all matters affecting himself. Hitherto he had travelled alone, except for the attendance of a trusted servant from Noer and he now, with incisive brevity, replies to the suggestion of a travelling companion by saying, that such a person is the greatest possible hindrance. Not that he is misanthropic; he likes some people even as travelling companions, but he would not endure the gêne of one chosen and settled beforehand. In Constantinople, he selected a friend who was to exercise strong directing influence on his thought and studies for several years to come. To many readers his admiration for David Urquhart will appear as strange as it did to his later friend, Dr. Samuel Birch and to Prince Emile. It was, however, a fact of magnitude in his career, and the cause of constant discussion between him and his father.\*

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\* The prince's autobiography contains a note on Urquhart's life from which the following facts are drawn:—He was born in 1805, of an old Cromarty family, and as a child saw much of the continent in his mother's company. He went to Oxford and there devoted himself somewhat to mineralogy, more to political economy and most to oriental languages

Urquhart's influence soon made itself felt by the impressionable young orientalist. Prince Friedrich became one of his most ardent disciples, and wrote concerning him to Prince Emile in a style of admiration which was certainly calculated to awaken apprehension. It was inevitable that a parent so practical and positive, should regret his son's submission to influence which could inspire a passage such as the following rapturous effusion :—"Urquhart is a man without a second. He acts on me like a magnet on steel; some unknown magic has drawn and fettered me to him. He has taught me, for the first time, to know myself; before his eye all the secrets of the soul disclose themselves; the heights and depths of human history are clear to him." Persons who are free from any responsibility as to the upbringing of the writer of this pæan, may admit the charm of the hero-worship it confesses, for every heart warms to the uprising of an awakening soul. Every one, too, who would have his children go far on the path of higher experience, would willingly see them surrender themselves for a time, to the attraction of a man who had, at least, the appearance of high doing, high thinking and espousal of the right. It is however certain that the plain-thinking soldier-prince would have none of these sentiments and he probably expressed, brusquely and irreconcilably, his dissatisfaction at an intimacy with the perfervid Scot to whom he with justice, attributed what he deplored, his son's almost exclusive occupation with matters extra Europe. Prince Friedrich was throughout life noticeable for the constancy and warmth of his likings and it was natural that he should stand by the man of his choice. It was none the less natural to his candour and rectitude that he should give his father his due, in an exposition of his reasons for thwarting wishes he felt bound to consider, though not always to obey. Prince Emile was so far from re-assured by his son's arguments, that he enjoined an immediate departure from Constantinople where the young prince had tarried some three months.

Two years had passed since sentence of banishment had driven Prince Emile from Noer, and he was now residing for a time at Grafenberg where his son joined him. The first flush

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and history. In 1827, he accompanied Lord Cochrane to Greece and a few years later, entered upon a diplomatic career as Secretary to the Embassy in Constantinople. In the political questions of the time he warmly espoused the cause of Turkey and by this and his expressed hatred of Russia, set himself in opposition to Lord Palmerston and rendered his position at the Embassy untenable. He, therefore, returned to England and entered Parliament. Amongst his writings, the "Spirit of the East" is indisputably pre-eminent. The latter years of his life were passed in complete retirement.

of reunion was a season of delight and happy exchange of experiences but the stagnant existence of the little watering place soon became irksome to the youth who, like Ulysses, "could not rest from travel" and was "yearning in desire to follow knowledge." He therefore welcomed a proposal from his father to accompany him to London and to visit the Great Exhibition of 1881. Not as the young prince remarks, with characteristic loftiness of sentiment, that he cared for the Exhibition. For what so high-strung soul forsooth, could an exhibition have attractions? But the journey was an outlet from Grafenberg and might issue in action more consonant than sight-seeing. One cannot help hoping that Prince Emile found at the World's Fair some more congenial fellow *flâneur* than his ambitious boy, who could hardly at this time have been a complaisant comrade for idle days. As he himself said, he was a somewhat spoiled child, and moreover meant to go far in life and so was overweighted by the impedimenta of his long march, in shape of stores of high views and aspirations, as well as some stock of such happily friable commodities as priggishness and stiffness of opinion. In these respects he was like other young men of good calibre and must sometimes have inconvenienced those who had to march with him.

Prince Friedrich's sentiments towards London had begun in the most wholesome possible way, with a little aversion. In 1849, he had been repelled by her fogs and by various english ways which did not chime in with his tastes. Now, in 1851, London seemed different, and he perceived that he had overcome many prejudices in the colonies, and that, without his knowledge, foreign lands had matured him. This, he says, "was a pleasant sensation; "I began to feel at home in England, and silently resolved to "return there for a longer stay." Visits to London were a frequently recurring incident of his future life and England became a second home, for which he cherished ever increasing affection. Such friendship for one's own country, evinced by a foreigner, is always a most grateful compliment. Englishmen returned it to the prince in liking and hearty welcome. His english friends were always amongst his nearest and it was an english lady who stood sponsor to his first child. On completion of this, his second visit, the father and son returned to Grafenberg, whence they were soon driven by the necessity of seeking in Berlin, medical advice for Princess Henriette who was constantly suffering but ever the "benediction" and "sunlight" of her circle. In December, all were in Altona where the young Princess Luise was confirmed. "A sad Christmas: so near our home, and exiles!"

A stimulant so powerful as two years of travel and the kindling intimacy of Urquhart, could not but bear fruit, and one of its

first results was a resolve in the young prince to fill up the *lacunae* of his education. His mental habit seems to have been to make up his mind silently as to what he wanted and then to obtain his parents' sanction, willing or unwilling—in brief, he was accustomed to have his own way. His father clearly regarded him as a remarkable person and one whose vagaries were not to be comprehended but, as a general rule, he ratified their action. At the present crisis of Prince Friedrich's intellectual hunger, he decided that he could best satisfy it at Cambridge and accordingly entered as a fellow-commoner of Trinity, in February 1852. He commenced his studies with an ardour which prepares one for finding that he did not care for the mass of the undergraduates who, so far as he saw, did nothing but row and box. His exceptional experience of life would, in itself, put him out of tune with that careless and pleasure-loving crew, but he soon accustomed himself to all he had at first disliked, even to the "schoolboy discipline," and to dining with 500 persons, and, moreover, he found friends after his own heart and pattern. His vacations were spent partly at work in Cambridge and partly in happy recreation with his parents and sister at Combe House, in Devonshire.\*

Not the flow of time and not changed scenes and relations could touch the vital point of the Prince's enthusiasm. His orientalism persisted; so too his friendship for Urquhart, and no less his father's outspoken annoyance at both. The following letter illustrates his mode of looking at his own conduct and also of setting it forth to his censor.

Trinity College, August 2nd 1852. "I have not had leisure to reply sooner to your affectionate and valued letter of the 26th ultimo. You will, I am sure, excuse the omission of which, although I had the best intentions of writing, I have been guilty. Be assured that the delay was not caused by irritation at the contents of your letter; on the contrary, your solicitous expression of opinion is in this grateful to me, that it gives me, after faithful and full self-examination, the opportunity of possibly removing your apprehensions."

"Dear father I you are distressed by the liveliness of my imagination, by my enthusiasm for things eastern, by my fancied contempt for Europe, and perhaps, above all, by my friendship and reverence for Urquhart, who is now pointed at as the contemner of Europe, the fanatic worshipper of the East and the friend of Paganism. If all you think were true, you would certainly be justified in taking me for an unreflecting visionary and I should deserve your reproaches. Forgive me, however,

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\* The "Remains" locate Combe House in Devonshire, but it is possible that the house meant is the one well known and nearer town.

"if I venture to assert that it is not so. How can you believe it true? Would it be possible for me to despise the superiority of european countries, with their daily fruit of novelties; in which improvement and invention contend; where armies will soon move with the speed of their balls; where thought and word are sped to distant lands in minutes or seconds, and where the dark secrets of nature are sought out by the light of science."

"Most assuredly I am European in sympathies and intend to remain so, otherwise I should not toil after european learning. Of what avail would it be to me, if not to use in and for Europe? And do you think it a disadvantage, that I have enjoyed in living vision what I now learn by printed rule?"

"'If we are Christians,' you say and seem to imply that to orientals, as such, every moral worth is wanting and that it is desecration for Christians to occupy themselves with the life, learning and science of Orientals. Dear father! it is my experience that the reading of the Scriptures has become an immeasurably higher happiness since I have been in the East. It was only when I came to know the eastern idiom and conditions of living, that I was in a position to understand biblical images and descriptions; the parables; the life of early men; the relations of our Lord to his disciples; vividly and accurately. The profound simplicity of the biblical language has since then caused me greater emotion. I am convinced that even the most material of the rationalists who assert that biblical allegory veils purely human relations, that even such a one would learn from eastern travel how admirably true, to the smallest details, the Bible is in its allegorical language and how mighty and moving in its simplicity. Do not think that Buddha or Brahma or Muhammad draws me to the East, and I beg you to trust a little to the experience and insight of your son."

"As for my relations with Urquhart, I am grieved that you should underestimate him and write of him as you do. My relations with him and my opinion of him are too well known to you for more words to be necessary. Let it suffice when I say that from the first he has been my well-doer and my fatherly friend. He is the only one of my so-called friends whom time and circumstances have not changed. This has made me and I am sure rightly, honour his heart no less than I respect his intellect and this, in spite of his occasional remarkable or hasty utterances. I am specially surprised to find you quoting the *Times* of which you have so long known the untrustworthiness and the malicious lies of which have so much injured you and our cause."

"I hope, dear father! that you will now think me less of a dreamer possessed by eccentric imaginations. If my words lighten your anxieties and facilitate harmony of opinion, I shall

"be happy but if they do not, I know no better counsel than for each of us to keep to his own opinion. If you find passages in this letter which displease you, I beg you not to think me presumptuous but to forgive me, for I have written out what was in my heart. Be assured that, notwithstanding the widest differences in details of opinion, I shall always conform most willingly to your wishes and your will."

The final sentence of his letter notwithstanding, Prince Friedrich not only kept his opinions but acted upon them in opposition to those of his father, for he spent the rest of the year in frequent intercourse with Urquhart and some portion of it as his guest in London. In order to conclude here his relations with this man, of whom it may truly be said that his powers of fascination were remarkable, we quote the following passage from a letter written in 1856, by the Prince to Dr. Samuel Birch:—After mentioning that he has read, for he knows not what time, Urquhart's "Spirit of the East," he goes on to say that it is impossible to peruse this *chef d'œuvre* without the deepest regret for the failings of a man of indisputably lofty genius. "You," he says to Birch, "knew him only in his later period and saw only the accesses of passion of a disabused and embittered mind and the strength of an unbridled temper. I, however—and you will forgive me my lingering affection—saw him otherwise. I saw him in the early days of his success, when his magic influence worked on all with perfect and irresistible charm. Let me remember this, if only with sorrow and regret! Without sentimentality, I may say of him and the time, *Fortasse et hæc olim meminisse juvabit*. It would ill beseem me to deny due meed of gratitude to the man who disclosed to me the wonders of the East."

The Prince's stay at Cambridge did not exceed 18 months and at its expiration he moved with his family to Paris. He commemorates their departure as having been made the more agreeable by a cabman's strike and the necessity of making their exodus in the cart of an obliging fishmonger. Mr. Disraeli gave him on this occasion an introduction to Count de Persigny. There would seem to have been a lasting mutual liking between Prince Friedrich and, Disraeli for in 1879, we find the former writing to his wife from London that he had paid a visit to Sidonia and had been received with open arms. "He was magnificent during a half hour, devoted mostly to remembrances of old times: he was like a young man in flash of mind, brilliancy and sparkle. I seemed to hear a chapter of Vivian Grey. The dear man! he is still of one's old friends."

The wanderers passed from Paris to Heidelberg and here the brother and sister took up various studies together. They were initiated in Egyptology by Julius Braun, listened to lectures on

the fine arts and, actively and quiescently, divided the musical training of an old lady, in whose society the Prince says that they spent many friendly hours. These tranquil pursuits were interrupted by the Crimean war. The Prince makes little mention of politics but so much appears, that his father was naturally always on the alert, in times of European complications for some happy chance to mend his own fortunes. At the present juncture, Prince Fredrich went at once to Mainz and Paris and met the Emperor—facts suggestive of a tide of hopes and fears in his circle. In Paris at this time, he formed one of a charmed circle of art and literature and rejoiced in his existence among associates of mark. At this time, also, he had matured a definite project of work, namely, the turning of his experiences and observations as a traveller into a literary form. The outcome of this plan was "*Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens*." (Things new and old from Eastern lands);—a book published under a pseudonym, that of Onomander, because, to use the courtly phrase of M. Alfred de Maury, the Prince feared to compromise a name which had not awaited the issue of a book to become illustrious.\*

In the November of 1854, Prince Emile took his family to Paris, with the intention of making this his permanent residence. The younger Prince settled down to steady work but gave the world her due share of his attention and particularly enjoyed the society which gathered round Lady Holland and Prince Napoleon. He had for a brief space most of the elements of happiness at his service: people he loved in his home, people of distinction of all kinds as associates in society and congenial occupation, to which novelty, if also the anxieties, added the charm of experiment. Brevity, however, was the mark of all the arrangements of the exiled family and in most instances of change, a brevity rendered imperative by ill-health. It was now not only Princess Henriette for whom a southern winter was ordered but also for her daughter Luise; Pau was selected for their winter residence and the Prince was left alone with his books on a fourth story of Rue Luxembourg. Here he worked hard through the winter, varying his literary occupations by an occasional flight into the gayest scenes of the gayest days of Eugénie's Paris.

In April, he was again interrupted and called to Pau by his mother's dangerous illness. Certainly, when one sees as one does, in following the history of the Noer family only in this one generation, how much of sorrow and stultification is brought about by the incursions of sickness, one has rebellious stirrings

\* Introductory notice by M. A. de Maury, Membre de l'Institut, to the French Translation of Kaiser Akbar, by M. G. Bonet Maury.



in favour of greater robustness if less civilization and of a legacy from the ages of healthy stupidity, rather than that of which we are heirs and which includes the seeds of so much wasted existence. Hardly had the young *littérateur* been set at ease by the almost miraculous recovery of his mother than he himself became the victim of over-strain and anxiety. London was then and often after his sanitarium and of it he says that it never refused him its healing influence. Nor did it now ; but even in the society of genial friends, he was filled with sad presentiment, like the chill of approaching fate ; possibly a premonition of the heart affection which caused his death. Prince Emile would seem to have wished his son's present visit to London to serve a political end, in so far as this could be done, by making himself known at Court. To this the son acceded, saying that it seemed right, because if all the family hawzers broke, there would still be a last grapnel and harbour in "dear old England." Accordingly he frequented levées and drawing-rooms and was received with great kindness by the Queen at Buckingham Palace where he paid a visit of some duration. Notwithstanding that he accomplished his father's wishes and was happy in the pleasant reception accorded to him, he was, by the beginning of July, confirmed in his previous opinion that *magna societas est magna solitudo*, and wearied of the fashionable whirligig. He therefore asked his father's forgiveness for retiring to his work, saying that the portion of *Altes und Neues* which had appeared, had excited more attention than he had dared to hope, and that he thought it would be unwise in him to quit the path he had chosen and which harmonized so well with his tastes and habits.

In the autumn of 1857, Prince Friederich joined his family in Paris at his father's house in Rue Balzac. This and the following, were years of great domestic trouble, for not only did he himself suffer from several serious attacks of illness but he experienced the deepest grief of his life, in the loss of his mother. This gentle lady had in her the heart of a hero for she had opposed to fortune throughout life the buckler of a cheerful spirit and now, at her supreme hour, looked the foe in the face with quiet courage. She knew that she must go but she neither shirked the truth nor trembled. Having commended her daughter to her son's care and having bravely borne many hours of pain, she passed away calmly on September 10th, 1858. Fate had now no harder blow to deal out to the exiles ; they had lost their centre and comforter, the guide and counsellor who had heartened all who came within her circle.

Of the years which follow this crowning grief, Prince Frederick says that he can give no correct account. Travel in

Italy filled a short space, residence in London and the study of Sanskrit with Professor Goldstücker another interval but gloom and annoyance would seem to have hung over all. "The death of my mother had rent the family tie which had once linked us so closely together. In everything it was perceptible that we had lost our guardian spirit." Vexation and chagrin culminated in 1864, when Prince Emile not only entered upon political action of which his son disapproved but at the age of 64, announced his intention of taking to himself a bride of 25. It was inevitable that the son of a mother so beloved as had been the Princess Henriette, should resent such a marriage and not unnatural that its announcement should decide him to put half the world between himself and its perpetrators. The lady of his father's choice was a Miss Marie Esther Lee, about whom the *Almanach de Gotha* gives the further information that she was the daughter of David Lee, gentleman of New York, and that on the death of Prince Emile, she married a Prussian Quartermaster General, Count Von Waldersee.

Hurrying his departure so as to anticipate the marriage ceremony, Prince Friedrich left Dover in an English man-of-war, the *Orontes*, on October 27th, 1864. He set forth sick at heart and resolute to blot from memory his load of griefs and chagrins. Only brief allusion is made in the biography, to what must have been a fertile source of annoyance. During the years of exile, absence, neglect and the costliness of a wandering life were casting a rising pile of debt on Noer. This fact and its contingent details must have annoyed and have continually obtruded. Prince Friedrich, being more susceptible than the majority of men, felt as a wound many a touch of sorrow or chagrin which would have lain light and unnoticed on the feelings of a robuster man. Certainly most men would, even in exile, have used his chances in the two capitals of western Europe to dull regret in pleasure and in the search for that advancement which not rarely waits on clever, attractive and high-born youth. Very certainly many a man would have viewed his father's remarriage, to a bride 39 years his junior, with more cynicism than surprise and chiefly as it might affect the future of the rent-roll. With tougher armour, Prince Friedrich would have felt less regret but so, too, would those friends who mourn his death.

To return to his voyage. The long Cape route was happily traversed and it is a proof of the winning manners of the lonely traveller that, on his quitting the ship, the crew asked permission to give him a farewell cheer, in order not only to show respect to his rank but also in sign of personal esteem and liking. "The yards were manned, the word given, and a

"hurrah rose such, that everything trembled and my heart not least. I was touched and rejoiced by this cordial greeting from British sailors."

The early part of 1865 was spent by Prince Friedrich in Southern India, partly because Mr. James Fergusson (the archaeologist and a personal friend) had advised him that this was the region in which best to study classic Hinduism; partly in pursuance of a scheme of working northwards and obtaining some general acquaintance with the whole peninsula.

The Prince's biography of this period contains several letters of interest, written for the most part to Goldstücker. The first is from Colombo and gives an account of a visit to a temple at three miles distance from the town, during the course of which Sanskrit *slokas* were read and high matters of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism discussed. The months intervening between the Prince's arrival in Ceylon, in December 1864 and the date, April 1865, when he took refuge, a "demi-Lazarus" in Utacamand were filled to overflowing with novel experience. Sparing our readers the full mention of places visited, his doings may be briefly summarized: he made many expeditions for sport, searched libraries, saw temples, palaces and shrines, had an unfair amount of illness, took everything with an even mind and when possible, with the keen enjoyment of the man who "cannot rest from travel." Amongst other incidents of interest is that of his searching at Trichinopoly for Heber's tomb and laying upon it a tribute of flowers. Another, which must have seemed like a home greeting, is that, in Tranquebar, he met a native gentleman who spoke Danish and had in his house portraits of the Schleswig-Holstein family. From his leisurely retreat in Ooty, he wrote letters to Goldstücker and Fergusson from which the following quotations are made, in order to show the strength of India's possession of him and his own enthusiasm in her cause.

(End of May 1865). "You know the general aim of my journey as well or better than I. It is so wide and comprehensive that I am frightened when I contemplate it and instead of calculating the means at my disposal, I think only of what I lack for the possibility of success—health, knowledge, money and many another requisite of which I am not yet conscious. I want to acquire a thorough knowledge of India and naturally of the more civilized lands of the north in particular. I want to study nature and men, science and art, through the millenium of their development, with the inner grasp which only living sight can give. My mind dilates and my fancy is heated by this mighty purpose and, here is the *crux*, I have not the smallest notion how or to what end I shall use it all. I have begun

"my journey like a man pursued by fate, almost without will, aimless and yet moved by an invincible power, a spiritual force which admits no reason, no opposition and which urges me onwards without my knowing whither or wherefore! Will you counsel me? Will time give counsel? Or was my father right?"

Writing to Fergusson on 19th June 1865, he says: "India is above all other lands, the land of abstract contemplation or as practical utilitarians say, of dreamy do-nothingness. Be this as it may, I feel myself the better after a solitary facing of things. It helps wonderfully, if not to understand, yet to feel that mysterious local influence which seems to me to contribute to right perception and insight, better than the restless, ant-like, erudite curiosity in which the dominant idea round which all else should centre, is lost in the confused and confusing mass of details. The East naturally predisposes to quiet contemplation and I am coming to understand, why it is that its people have always been indifferent or bad chroniclers and, moreover, I readily forgive them the doubt and uncertainty into which they cast an inquiring mind. Jacquemont says: 'Il faudrait écrire l'histoire des Indes en grands traits,' and in this he is certainly right, just as you were right in urging me to hold fast to great periods and not to be led away to pursue details. . . . . As for myself, I should not like to learn simply in order to know but should like to utilize my knowledge for something which possesses a higher independence in itself. Here (I think) to myself, perhaps the work of the student touches that of the artist."

During his wanderings, his sense of ignorance and undirected zeal grew strong in the Prince's mind. He wished for a companion who could be to him, like Sir William Jones, a complete lexicon and he perceived that to effect anything he must concentrate attention and study. Of the usefulness of this last necessity he might have seen proof, had he needed conviction, in a fact of which he makes jocular complaint, namely, that the officials, though speaking Tamil and Telugu as well as they did English, knew no more than the old walls of the ruins themselves of the great and splendid India of ancient days. *Pour belle cause!* They concentrated their attention. Spite of many drawbacks to enjoyment and spite of his bewilderment as to future work, the Prince is still the thrall of India's fascinations and feels no regret at having taken up, at her bidding, the pilgrim's staff. "Everything in her," he writes to Goldstücker, "is gigantic and raises the spirit above pettiness. In extent, form, natural objects and ancient monuments, she is unique. Her indwelling poetry must stir the pulse of all who have not fishes' blood. If, as you have more

"than once told me and as I am disposed to believe, I am deficient in discrimination, there never, thank God, fails me the inner joy which prompts to action, braces to endurance and even through heavy trials, preserves that cheer of mind without which the miserable every-day life of this oldrag-shop, this place of pangs and torture, could not be endured."

Vicissitudes and disappointments had taught the Prince to shrink from forming plans of action and his present experience bore out his reluctance. Following on news received in Utacamand, that his sister was betrothed to Prince Handjerie, there came, on July 29th, telegraphic information that his father was dead and that his sister wished him to return to her. He took the first ship available from Madras and reached Marseilles, after an absence of little more than eleven months, on September 14th. He arrived at a time when a lengthened quarantine was in force, on account of cholera. On the second day, when a strong mistral had cut off communication with the shore, he was watching the waves which the storm was lashing to foam, and observed a small boat fighting its way through the rough waters. With great difficulty it made the ship, and to the surprise of all was seen to carry two women. When, with much trouble, they had been embarked, he discovered that one was his sister and the other her faithful companion, Madame Delalande, a lady of over 60 years of age. They had travelled from Havre to Marseilles, and tempted the stormy sea to greet him before he could set foot on shore. Ten years later the Prince shewed his gratitude for this manifestation of disinterested affection by saying that no event of his life had caused him such deep emotion.

During the months immediately following his return, Prince Friedrich was occupied by family matters. On his way north, he made acquaintance with his sister's betrothed, Prince Handjerie, in Geneva, and was on September 26th, in London, arranging for her coming marriage. The ceremony was performed a month later, and after continuing his stay another month, the Prince set out on November 30th for Noer, where his presence was necessitated by matters in connection with his succession. That he was free to return after an absence of 17 years to Noer, is probably due to the fact that the Duchies had passed under prussian government, for Denmark remained closed to him for some years to come. Return to Noer could not but be fraught with pain and, to the unavoidable depression, the further element was added of an arrival at four on a winter's morning. "It was," says the Prince, "one of those moments, some at least of which fall to every mortal lot and in which one is crushed by the sense of the utter tragedy of human life. Here, now, were roar of sea and storm, bare ghostly trees, wan wide fields, a few servants

"lighting the threshold and I alone—the only man of my house!" In March of the following year, he performed a last duty to his parents and laid their bodies in their final resting place. His father had died at Beyrut, his mother in Paris : now both lay under the northern sky of their early wedded home. To this duty there was added another, the redemption of Noer from debt. Presumably because he could not afford to live on his estate; he left it, in April 1866, for London where he resumed his former literary life and took up again the study of Sanscrit which he had begun with Professor Goldstücker in 1860. He was however restless and had lost balance ; at intervals a renewal of his broken travels tempted him but resolve was delayed, in part by anxiety as to Princess Handjerie's health and in part, by the indifference of depression of spirit. His friends and even his sister, urged a third journey upon him for they saw that he was wearing out in restlessness and vague longing. Before coming to a decision, the Prince made a series of visits in Europe, assured himself of his sister's happiness by a visit to Manerbe, her Norman home ; saw Guizot in his Tusculum and stayed in Leyden, Amsterdam and the Hague. He then returned to London and as next of kin, assisted as best man at the wedding of Prince Christian.

Full of sorrow as his cup had been, it had not yet overflowed for his sister still lived. In September she too, was taken from him and he was left to the bitter freedom of loneliness. On his way to London from Manerbe, where he had witnessed her death, he went to his father's house in Rue Balzac. "In the little dining-room, there still stood the table with its six chairs, just as of old but I was the sole survivor of the six who once formed a genial circle round it."

Lonely as was Prince Friedrich by the loss of his nearest kin, there remained one person who had ever shown and who continued to show, affectionate interest in his career. This was his father's sister, Caroline Amélie, the Queen dowager of Denmark. She now remonstrated with him on his intention of further self-exile from Europe. She could not understand his reasons for going to a foreign country, instead of settling down on his estate. He replied, by saying that marriage and prosperous landlordism were put out of his reach by poverty and that he was at once indisposed and too young to live at Noer, only to economise. He therefore would live a simple gentleman till his affairs had somewhat improved. An additional reason for foreign residence was found in his desire to learn, if not to forget, yet to bear his losses and he truly says that for such misfortunes as his, there is but the one cure of occupation.

Prince Friedrich's third and last term of residence in India, extended from June 1867 to April 1869. On landing at Madras

he went at once to Utakamand, there to await a safer season for travelling. Here he remained until July 31st, when he set out on a fortnight's experimental excursion which he followed up in October by a longer tour in the Mysore country. The following letter of Mr. James Fergusson gives a lively account of both exploits :—

“Ballári, January 7th, 1868. You wish for news of me. Here it is in the condensed form of a *tartine de voyage*—not quite à la Jacquemont but, *faute de mieux*, the best bread and butter story I can offer you. I have scarcely recovered from an attack of dysentery which almost made an end of me. But I will tell my tale briefly and clearly, in the style you like.”

“After a successful voyage, I went, in the beginning of June to my accustomed asylum in the Nilgiris, to recruit and to prepare for an expedition northwards. This expedition I determined to initiate by a small experiment. Having insufficiently fitted myself out, I spent, from July 31st to August 13th, in pursuit (as you used to say) of cats and other harmless animals on the southern and eastern foot of the Nilgiris, going by Mettupalayam, Bawari, Hassanúr and back to ‘Ooty,’ by Nágor, Gundlupet, Bándapúr and the Kalkatti Ghats. It was a most difficult undertaking, mostly through thick jungle, on bad roads, up hill and down. As a consequence, we had to endure many complications. Amongst others, I almost lost Hyder (his pony) in the Bhavani and various upsettings and breakdowns necessitated a night picnic. Finally, we all had fever. On August 13th, we came back to our green nest and the sum total seems delightful.

“When thoroughly rested, and when we had replaced or repaired the numerous losses and breakages of our equipage, we started off, in October, into the Mysore district where I rambled about for three months, hunting and archæologizing. As the first of these occupations has no interest for you, I spare you my adventures and in the second, you are so much wiser and better instructed than I, that I hardly know what to tell you. I will briefly enumerate the places I visited. From the town of Mysore, I went to Seringapatam, saw everything of interest and then plunged into the Bálrangan hills. On emerging, I visited Yelandur and made an interesting excursion to Talkad, Sivasamudram and the falls of the Kaveri ; then to Nuisipúr, where I camped for a week close to the river, in the shade of splendid tope of mango and pipál trees and in sight of four curious old pagodas and the picturesque chain of the Bálrangan hills. You can imagine how I plunged into Buddhist dreams. It was truly nirvana to sit alone in this place, charmed by the lulling tone of the *hookah* and letting pictures from the past glide before my mind. Do you remember our

"stolen smokes in the forbidden precincts of Wadham? I cannot but think of them and with this addition, 'Happy is he who, in repose and tranquillity and far from the machine of busy, money-hatching Europe, can rest on the banks of a great indian stream as I do and sink undisturbed into his own thoughts.'

"After this digression, your appreciative friendliness will let me omit further details of my journey. A long and troublesome march lies behind me—Sri Belgola. Halebid, Bailur, Chitaldrúg. It was on this journey that I fell ill under the most adverse circumstances. The attack was so violent that I have not yet recovered but I am slowly mending and although my enthusiasm has cooled a little, I may hope to take up my staff again as soon as I have gathered strength. Why not? We can die but once, and it is *kismet* where and when. Faithful friendship to the end!"

The Prince's diary contains other items of information about the two excursions sketched to Fergusson. The first was evidently mismanaged and, as he says, insufficiently equipped. The good fortune allotted to his fortnight's jaunt was exhausted by three incidents; his pony returned to camp when it was supposed to be lost; he killed a boa; and his crockery remained sound after his cart had turned upside down. On the other side of the account, the fates dealt out to him three broken shafts of a cart of the *genus bandy*; slow bullocks and belated suppers, hours of waiting for blacksmiths, a night in the open air and fever, a natural August *finale* for jaunts at the foot of hills. What is pleasant in the narrative of these familiar incidents is that the Prince took all in good humour. Even, when in Mysore, he was made by a false guide to traverse eighteen miles instead of eight, he says with La Rochefoucauld—"Toute chose a son bon côté," and, in this, he acquired a complete knowledge of the locality and drew near the point of life without anger. He was almost as ardent a sportsman as he was a traveller and book-lover and, spite of all drawbacks which deficient strength must have caused, he enjoyed his nomad life thoroughly. "Here, in India," he says, on the Mysore tour, "the mere consciousness of existence fills the soul with thankfulness."

Prince Friedrich spared his archæological friend the recital of his *shikar* adventures but one, at least, has some interest. He joined a Major Montgomery, in the Bálirangan hills and with him went out after elephants. They got within range of a tusker and from their two guns gave in succession, balls in the forehead, the temple and in the ear. The animal tottered and fell, rose and fell again and at length, with the aid of two females marched off. He was followed for three miles and then lost sight of. The Prince attributed the inefficiency of



the balls to the fact that the elephant's head was level with the gurf sand to the angle therefore not being what it should. On December 15th, he was on his way, by palki, from Chitaldrúg to Ballári when he fell alarmingly ill with dysentery. There was no shade on the open *maidan* except that afforded by a bridge and in this the sick man was laid for some hours, until he could endure to be carried to the nearest bungalow, two miles away. Doctors came from Ballári and Chitaldrúg and both declared the danger imminent but the Prince rallied and by Christmas day was able to reach Ballári. Here he found the *dák* bungalow occupied by two high and mighty Englishmen who were smoking their morning pipes in the verandah. They refused him admittance and must have been of the class of which Jacquemont spoke when he said, "J'exècre les Anglais de bas étage." The Prince lay in his palki while his servants went from house to house to find quarters for him. They presently returned with a letter of hospitable intent from General McCleod who took the sick man in and treated him as though he had been a home returned son. In Ballári, he lay for some weeks before he could attempt to move towards Madras, and it was not until February that he was able to reach Guindy. Here he was strongly advised to return at once to Europe but he signified to his doctors that life was only of value to him under certain conditions—presumably those of having seen what he wanted to see in India—and they permitted him to sail to Calcutta. On February 20th, he was in Calcutta and the guest of Lord and Lady Lawrence and from Government House wrote to Goldstücker that he hoped to start shortly for Kashmír, and to see with his own eyes the cities of his desire, Benares, Dilhí and Láhor. He adds, that he shall not die happy if he cannot accomplish this. Contrasting Calcutta and Madras, and remarking that there is more intellectual life in the former, he says: "Of course I mean in english society; from natives of the country one can always learn something."

He was, while in Calcutta, elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and also paid a visit to the Madrassah. On the 7th March, he set out for Benares, "well cared for in every respect and I shall in 28 hours, cover the 545 miles which the "good Jacquemont boasted of accomplishing in six and a half weeks." Benares made on the traveller the vivid impression she cannot but make at the time of the *mela*. The river festivities were enjoyed under the escort of the Rájá's son and of the Mahárája of Vizianagram and enchanted the Prince. He left the city with the remark that every good thing has an end and so must the *mela* and fantastic days in Benares.

Agra was his next halting place and here Akbar set his seal

on him. Through all his wanderings, there had ever run a fine thread of purpose and the time was now come when, by its guidance, he was led to the goal and object for which he had so long waited. His mind had been prepared to receive clear and deep impressions from whatever memorials of Akbar he might see and now, when he was exposed to the living influence of the giant architectural creations of the Mughuls, clear vision was vouchsafed and he saw his way. Hitherto, his regret at the vagueness of his aims had been constant and his intention to work on some one indian subject equally permanent. Under the impact of impressions given by Agra and later on by Delhi, his fluid desire crystallized into resolve to set before Germany the character and acts of the Emperor whose personality had become so attractive to himself.

Prince Friedrich pilgrimaged to Sikandrah and laid roses, his tribute of remembrance, on Akbar's grave. He was smitten with wonder at the grandeur of the mausoleum and, because like all works of genius, it touches the imagination at points outside its destined purpose, he saw in it an apt symbol of the life of the ruler in whose honour it lifts its magnificence to heaven. It may have spoken also to him, as to others, of something wider even than the full tide of Akbar's career, for it is eloquent of broad and unchambered life, the immortal and jubilant force which makes for change and beauty and uplifts man's spirit in triumphant sense of persistence and invincibility. The assertive fact of individual death has here its counterpart—in the grim vault which contains the dust of Akbar—but the fact of infinitely greater magnitude—that life is undecaying—is imaged in every portion of the sun-bathed structure. When one has climbed the terraces and sits in the sieved shadow of the fretted cloister, fancy kindles to a rejoicing vision of bounteous and genial life. Even the *memento* uttered by the brodered semblance of Akbar's tomb, speaks of repose and not of decay or rupture. Sikandrah is fruitful in suggestion and amongst many-hued thoughts of her occult summoning, reminds us that it was not England, and not Europe only which paced through spacious times, in that summer of the centuries which saw the great Elizabeth, but that India also, flushed with bloom of quickened life, under the sway of Akbar.

Sikandrah then, working with other scenes, wrought on Prince Friedrich with wholesome charm and fixed his thoughts on Akbar as the object of his future energies. It was at Delhi that he first made known his intention and this, to his friend Goldstücker, to whom he wrote with the modesty natural to his character and natural in presence of a man of great attainments in the sphere in which he was himself a tyro. He tells

his friend and adviser that, when he was in Calcutta and sat in the Madrassah with Blochmann and listened to even the sober philologist's talk about Akbar, he had felt, as Goethe puts it, that our best part in history is the enthusiasm she kindles. He goes on to enumerate the influences which had turned his thoughts to Akbar—the traces of his activity and work in Northern India; the yet living traditions of his warlike deeds and the wise and just administration with which he had blessed his realm. He asks his monitor whether his idea of writing the life of his hero would not deliver his thoughts from chaos and give his spirit repose and governance. It is much to be regretted that Goldstücker's letters in answer to the warmly and humbly worded prayers for guidance, preferred on more than one occasion by the Prince, are not before us. The friendship which subsisted between the two men must have gained double interest by hearing the other person of the drama. We may, however, infer that Goldstücker encouraged the Prince's project, for his disapproval would have quenched it. Prince Friedrich's diary, as published in the *Nachlass* (Remains) gives few details as to the impressions he gained at Dillí, but the resolution he there arrived at, as to his future occupation, was of weight sufficient to mark the great city of the eastern Dead for ever, in his memory, as the place where he touch the goal of his search. It was in April that he left Dillí and proceeded on his further way towards Kashmír as far as Láhor. On the way thither he realized, another of his desires, for he saw the snows of the Himálayas, "like a miracle" in which I could scarce believe but which yet was genuine."

The rest of the year 1868 was spent in Kashmír, and for the most part, with restoration of health in view. His first impressions, even of the scenery, were a disappointment. This last disillusion was the fault of his own false ideal, for later on, the true beauty of the land held him in happy thrall. His other source of disappointment was not so readily removable, for he had expected congruity between nature's charms and man's action. The whole country had occupied a glorified niche in his fancy and he had, moreover, found the Rájá a most courteous gentleman and all Kashmírís friendly and helpful. Keen therefore, was the disgust with which he saw the evils which pressed on the population. It is not without satisfaction that an Englishman reads the german Prince's opinion, that ten years of administration, such as the Panjáb enjoyed, would set Kashmír to rights. Most of the Prince's stay in the country was devoted to travel in the mountains, where he had some sport and was, he says, idle. He improved somewhat in health but would seem to have subjected himself here, as in Southern India, to over fatigue and to climatic dangers. In November, he paid the price—an

illness of so serious a nature that he did not even know how his way was made from Baramula onwards to Murill Pahar (?), a civilized spot where he was quartered in the club house and had the services of a doctor.

By December 2nd, he had been able to reach Atak, whence he went on to Lâhor. Here he was advised that it would imperil his life if he remained in India during another hot season, and at this second warning, he decided not again to tempt *kismet*, but to return home. He accordingly left India for ever, in April 1869, and took a route to Europe which led him through the cities of his earlier love, Smyrna and Damascus. He visited also Beyrut, where his father had died. He then travelled northwards, and finally came to rest at Noer which, he thenceforth made his residence and where, as his first guest, he entertained his friend, monitor and teacher, Goldstücker.

The next marked step in his career was his marriage. He had long before said that he could not live alone at Noer and he fulfilled his prediction with little delay. In this matter, as in others, he broke from the traditions of his order. The exclusiveness of german aristocratical theory in questions matrimonial, is proverbial and the Prince's announcement that he intended to desert the sanctuary of propriety and marry a commoner, might well have been the last straw on the family camel which he had already overloaded with his literary impedimenta. When he communicated his intentions of marriage to Queen Caroline Amélie and asked her good wishes, he, at the same time, informed her of another step which he had taken and which was of the greatest moment to the future fortunes of his family. He had been to Berlin, had seen the King and had, from him, received the title of Count of Noer. It would seem that this was not the first recent change of title in the family, for Prince Emile had, in 1864, effected or been made to effect the change from Prince of Schleswig-Holstein to that of Prince of Noer. Whether this was done for political reasons or in connection with his re-marriage (which took place a month after the grant of the new title by the then temporary suzerain of Holstein, the Emperor of Austria) we are not in a position to say. Prince Friedrich's motives for abdicating his higher rank are, however, beyond doubt for he gives them to Queen Caroline, on the 14th April 1870, with the announcement of his betrothal. He says that his change of title not only sets him free from the troubles of politics but enables him to marry according to his inclinations. One is naturally diffident before the involutions of high alliances, but so much is clear, that he preferred to sacrifice his princely rank and title, rather than subject the lady of his choice to the ignominy of a morganatic marriage. Political complications were obviated by his surrender of title, as it presumably carried

with it renouncement of his contingent claims to supremacy in Schleswig-Holstein. It may here be said that the ban of his exclusion from Denmark was not removed until 1881, in which year he visited his danish kinsfolk, a renewal of relations which gave him indescribable delight. "Dulcis reminiscitur Argos" his diary adds.

The seventeenth of May 1870, initiated what has been called by one of the Prince's acquaintance, a ten year's idyll at Noer and was the day of his marriage with Carmen, daughter of Mr. Eisenblatt, a merchant of La Guayra, in Vénézuéla and of Hamburg. Home and home happiness now filled his thoughts and ancient desires slumbered. For five peaceful years, he had respite from the scourgings of the indian Eumenides. Not that his orientalism was dead; it was but repressed by the imperious barrier of his happiness and it was not until 1875 that, at the instigation of his wife, he put pen to paper and began the history of Akbar's reign.

"Here is the house of fulfilment of craving:

"Here is the cup with the roses around it;

"The World's wound well healed and the balm that hath bound it!"

The draft of the first chapter of *Kaiser Akbar* was dictated to the Countess von Noer on March 15th, 1875. Thenceforward the Count worked steadily, laying aside his pen only in sickness and at length, at the bidding of the king, whom all obey. Early in the course of his task, he made a reflection which comes home to all who have entered the penetralia of literature. He learned, he says, that not men and nations only, but every piece of human intellectual work has its history. To those who know, it is easy to fill up this outline of thought. How many a book which now falls as dull and lifeless as chilled iron, would glow again, if one could see the elemental impulses which went to its creation and watch the fire which burned to its fashioning. For six and a half years the Count laboured at his "Emperor Akbar," the time being broken by an occasional flight from Noer, sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for health and sometimes for purposes connected with his work. He was well aware that the shadows of his evening were closing around him, for, at the end of 1880, when the first part of the first volume had just been published, he wrote to Dr. George Hoffmann of Kiel—a friend of whom he said that he had stood bravely by him, with help and counsel—and told him, that the second part must be finished within a year or he himself would not be able to complete it. His anticipations were realized. The second part of the first volume was published late in 1881 and on Christmas Day the man of many journeys set out for his last and unknown bourn.

The immediate cause of the Count von Noer's death was an affection of the heart and his last hours were racked with pain. He could not lie down but, within an hour of his departure, his long dominant passion asserted itself and he ordered his bed turned, so that he should face the east. He then had himself placed upon it, with the remark, that this would be his death-bed and that it was right at least for the last hours, to lie properly down. He did so and shortly afterwards said distinctly : ' How beautiful,' and passed away.

Of him too might. Tennyson have said ;

" All things I have enjoyed  
" Greatly ; have suffered greatly ; both with those  
" That loved me and alone."  
" Much have I seen and known ; cities of men,  
" And manners, councils, climates, governments,  
" Myself not least, but honoured of them all."

In accordance with arrangements which he had detailed to those who would care for his burial, a mausoleum was erected within sight of the house at Noer and in this his body was placed, enclosed in a sarcophagus. Every thing that thoughtful sympathy could do to orientalize the spot, has been done. The path which leads from the rose garden to the rising ground of which the mausoleum in the crown, is thickly bordered with cypresses, the moslim tree of mourning. The building is itself shrouded by the same sad hues, but aspiring emblems and is of eastern design. The sarcophagus rests on a dais which is spread with moslim prayer-carpet, brought for this purpose from India herself.

It is in the library of a servant of literature that the mournfulness of a purpose riven by death, is most felt. Prince Friedrich had been filled with a presentiment of the brevity of his day and it is in presence of his books that one's heart answers most readily to the pang which must have pierced his, when he knew that he must leave his work incomplete. These mutely eloquent friends are, for the most part, books of which India is the vital spark, they were gathered by his needs, and handled in his work and they dignify the room which his mother's memory consecrated in his regard. On his death-bed, he expressed his sorrow at his enforced desertion of his task and, spite of an assurance that it should be carried on, he must have felt, what he said of Goldstücker, that he was leaving an infant child to the doubtful usage of the world. He was 51 years of age when he died and the last decade of his life had rounded almost to the calm and tranquillity of his childish years at Noer, a manhood of change and deprivation and exile.

Count Friedrich left two daughters. Had he left a son, it is possible that his widow might have been spared the many months

of anxiety which have attended the decision of a law-suit which Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein has instituted with the aim of obtaining possession of Noer. The *crux* of the suit is said to be, whether the king of Denmark had the right to cut off the entail of Noer as was done at the instigation of Prince Friedrich who was desirous of securing the reversion of the estate to his wife and children. The case was heard in the lower court of Schleswig at the end of 1885, and was decided on all points in favour of the Countess von Noer. There were, however, difficult questions of royal prerogative involved, and an appeal has been allowed. The special hardship of the case, in the eyes of friends of the Countess is, that her husband made every effort to ensure that his children should inherit. Noer is not an old possession of the Schleswig-Holstein family but was brought in by the mother of Prince Emile, who left it to him, her second son and from him it passed on to Prince Friedrich. There is, therefore, something repugnant to good feeling in the attempt of another member of the house to take the estate from the branch to which it had been given by the lady who brought it into the Schleswig-Holstein family. No one can suppose that she would have wished to impoverish the descendants of the son to whom she gave it.

We have now to turn from Prince Friedrich to his writings. His earliest published work is *Alles und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens* (Things New and Old from Eastern Lands), and consists of three thin octavo volumes, the first of which deals with India, the others with Egypt and Asia Minor. The primary materials for the work were gathered by the Prince then a boy of nineteen, during his travels in 1849-50. In 1854, he began to work upon this basis and published the completed book in 1858. As has been mentioned, it was given to the world under the pseudonym of Onomander. It is much more than a record of travel, for not only has this been matured by revision and addition but in each volume there are chapters which deal for the most part with politics or history and which are the result of later study. Thus, in the Indian volume, there are two such, entitled respectively, "India in general" and "the Revolt in Bengal." These chapters open with some general remarks: "Hindústán," says the author, "would be unique if it had not its counterpart in Spain." It is not only in their physical positions that a resemblance is noted but still more in the characteristics and circumstances of the inhabitants, and notably in their common possession of individual courage and fighting power, but also in their common lack of the qualities which make the General. Unfortunately for the complete justice of the novel comparison, the Prince has massed the peoples of India, and his

imaged "Indian" is a Sikh or a Rájput. Passing on, we find a sketch of the various conquests and occupations of the country from the time of Alexander to those of Clive and Hastings. To read our own affairs by a foreign light, is always a means of rekindling our interest in them and of illuminating corners which have escaped our vision. This interest attaches to Prince Friedrich's attempt to set before German readers the story of the British occupation of India. His work is the outcome of a very considerable amount of reading and although its material is familiar, it has the freshness of foreign representation. Following the historical survey, is an examination of the causes which evoked the Mutiny. It is not without a pleasant touch of novelty that one finds the Prince quoting Disraeli's speeches in the House, as evidence for several of his statements. He is strong in his blame of the supineness of the Indian Government in face of repeated warnings of the approaching storm. Amongst other such warnings which he enumerates, is one about which, on perusing it in a foreign tongue, one cannot stifle the wish that it had been kept, like a family failing, for home criticism only. He tells us that, just after the annexation of Aude, more than 40,000 Sipahis petitioned for a restoration of the former state of things and asked why they and their king had been reduced from independence. These petitions, *not being on stamped paper*, were disregarded.

As has been said, Prince Friedrich's stay in Bengal in 1849, was limited to some three weeks and his sight-seeing to the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta. He paid a visit to Chandarnagar and was there the guest of M. Courjon. He gives a short sketch of the life of this noticeable man and tells us that M. Courjon was of French origin, born in the Mauritius and that his parents, though of good descent, being without fortune, he came to India to make his own. From the Rájás of Tipperah he received land on favourable conditions and set about the cultivation of rice and indigo. He prospered exceedingly and acquired such influence in Tipperah, that the British Government on several occasions employed him as its intermediary between themselves and the Rájás. Prince Friedrich praises the admirable demeanour of M. Courjon and was unaffectedly attracted by the wealth of his conversation and by his amiable willingness to tell what he knew. On leaving Chandarnagar, the avid listener recalled Madame de Staël's dictum, that sometimes, the remembrance of a man with whom one has spent only a few minutes, is more permanent and pleasant than the memory of one, with whom fate has compelled us to live for ten years.

Perhaps the most interesting passage in the record of the Prince's sojourn in Bengal is that in which he describes an



interview at Fort William, with the then state-prisoner Mulráj. He was himself a political exile and although he tries to hold the balance fair, it is pretty clear that he did not regard Mulráj as a malefactor but rather as the victim of British political necessities. Here, as elsewhere in his narrative, one may hear the echo of the opinions of those that bear rule.

"Some of the houses in the Fort have been arranged for the reception of state prisoners and at this time the former ruler of Multán was amongst them. The fate of this man, who, but a short time before, had attracted so much attention in the Indian world, is not in itself devoid of interest but what increased our own in him, was that we were allowed to visit him. On this occasion, the Commandant of the Fort, one of our most agreeable and courteous Calcutta acquaintances, was so kind as to accompany us and to act as interpreter. Amír (*sic*) Mulráj has had many accusers but also some defenders: some regard him as a daring malefactor, while others pity him as a political victim and take his character under protection. According to the most impartial and trustworthy of the authorities at our disposal, the facts of his affairs are as follows:—The ancient fort of Multán lies to the north of Sindh and between the Indus and the Sutlej. It once belonged to the dominions of Ranjit Singh but after their partition, became a small independent state at the court of which the English, according to their custom, had two political agents. The Afghán war, the conquest of Sindh, as well as the stubborn conflict in the Punjáb, had excited to the highest degree, the hatred of the Multánis for the foreigners whose growing power was a threat to their independence. In a tumult in the city of Multán, the two agents fell victims to the outburst of anger on the part of the inflammable and warlike Multánis, who had from the first regarded their presence with distrust and ill-will. They were killed in the street and as some of their servants averred, on their way to the citadel, to seek the protection of the Amír. It has never been possible to clear up all the circumstances of the sad occurrence. On one side, the whole blame is laid on Mulráj who is declared to have instigated the tumult for the purpose of ridding himself of the two officers; on the other, no credence is given to the accusation. Be this as it may, the British Government naturally demanded satisfaction for an atrocity, committed, apparently, at the Amír's instigation. Mulráj insisted that he had no part in it and was, therefore, not in a position to discover the murderers for punishment at his own hands or for surrender to the English. He had more fear of his own rebellious subjects than of any possible consequences of the anger of his powerful neighbours, who at the time, were busied with war in the Punjáb. Soon, however, an army was on the march, Multán was besieged and after a brave

"resistance, surrendered to evade the horrors of a final storming. (January 2nd, 1849.)" Mulráj was sent to the recently-captured Láhore and there tried like a common criminal and sentenced to death by hanging. This sentence was, by an act of clemency, commuted to imprisonment for life in Fort William."

"The deposed Amír is distinguished no less by his noble presence than by his agreeable manners. He may be between forty and fifty years of age. (This is written of 1849). He has the marks of a man of high caste together with characteristics of his afghan origin. He is tall and slender and his features are well cut and regular; his complexion which is almost fair as that of a well-born Turk, forms a picturesque contrast to his curly black beard. The fire of his dark eye is dimmed by trouble—dimmed, but not quenched, and his demeanour betrays the proud indifference and calm surrender to unalterable fate which a high-born oriental never loses. He is separated from his family who are held prisoners at Láhore. One only of his former friends has remained true to him and has voluntarily followed him here, to share his captivity. It was touching to see that this man, himself a man of birth and fine presence, did not disdain to join the duties of a menial servant to those of a trusted friend. Mulráj was manifestly pleased that our visit should break in on his monotony and this removed all our apprehensions about disturbing him. The Amír could as little renounce his natural pride as can the caged lion. When the heavy bolts were withdrawn and we entered his room, he received us with a grave dignity which bordered on condescension. The English comport themselves towards their fallen foe with the most respectful consideration allowed by the circumstances and it gave us sincere pleasure to notice, that Colonel W. did not seat himself until his prisoner had made a slight gesture of permission. The Amír opened the conversation, and with delicate amenity and skilful lightness, led it over a variety of subjects which would have done credit to a european man of the world. As a matter of course, we avoided touching upon his own situation but material for conversation did not fail, for Mulráj has had, for his position, a comprehensive and thorough education. He has the reputation of great learning, reads and writes Hindústání, Arabic and Persian, and would seem to be well versed in the literature of the last named language. Through the arabic historians he appears to have some acquaintance with ancient greek philosophy and (so far as we could understand,) expressed himself at length concerning Aflatoone, Aristoune and Bahádur Secunder Saheb. (Plato, Aristotle, and Alexander.) He was pleased by our interest in his conversation, as well as by the good will we showed in trying to make him understand us, and the visit only came to

“an end when our obliging friend, the Commandant, had exhausted his store of Hindustānī-Persian. At first Mulrāj was somewhat reserved but grew more and more talkative and, amongst other things, told us that he was occupying himself with his biography and the history of Multān. He showed us, not without visible satisfaction, some very beautiful Persian Mss., a part of his work. At the end of our visit, he accompanied us to the door, where he dismissed us with the same dignified demeanour with which he had received us. The whole reception was more like the durbar of a reigning prince than a stranger’s visit of curiosity.”

The second volume of *Altes und Neues* treats, for the most part, of the Prince’s impressions of Cairo and the Pyramids. It contains also three political chapters on Syria and on the dissensions between the Porte and the Pasha. Like all the writings of Prince Friedrich, it bears the stamp of first hand information and personal experience. He is indignantly sarcastic on those who penetrate a foreign country only so far as to see it through the eyes of domiciled foreigners, and tells a story of a member of an Asiatic Society (he is thus indefinite), who set out to travel in the East for the purpose of collecting material for a book. He reached Constantinople and there, on the landing stage, had the misfortune to break his leg. This confined him to an hotel in the frank quarter of Pera whence on his recovery he set out for home direct, wrote his book and gave it to the world with the colour of having eye-witnessed all he wrote of.

Egypt filled the prince with delight and he could reconcile himself to his departure only by dwelling on the thought that he was going from her to the classic lands of Asia Minor. He sailed from Alexandria for Smyrna and his voyage carried him through a maze of islands, whose names alone are a spell to conjure thoughts of beauty and art and heroic song. Would it be possible for familiarity to smirch the bloom of Creta and Naxos, of Samos and Khios? One may hope not, for even its many prosaic and ignoble uses have not frittered from India all its power of charming connotation. As has been said, Prince Friedrich found Smyrna surpassingly beautiful and chimes in with Strabo’s praise of it as the most lovely of cities. From it, as his head-quarters, he and a few fellow-travellers from India—reliquæ Danaûm—dared the choice of ransom or death and made an agreeable expedition to Nimphi. Subsequently, when even the last of his comrades had been drawn by some stronger attraction to his fatherland, the Prince went alone to Ephesus and of this city of manifold associations, he has left a full and interesting account. Returning to Smyrna, he devoted a brief space to the sweetest *far niente* and assures his readers that the man who

does this is by no means idle because he is receiving impressions and making observations and being moved to reflect. In fact, the Prince was realizing what is the germ of fruitful travel—that one should go forth not to see, but to be shewn sights, not like a person to whose good vision all things will be clear, but in the spirit of one who waits for a revelation.

In the place of his present sojourn, it was natural that the traveller should have Homer open in his hands and his pages show, by many a quotation done into full-mouthed German that poetry lent her aid to add to the other charms of his journey. At this stage of his book, as easily as at any other, one may, by reference to his sources, seek proof of his industry in working up his matter. His notes show abundant research: to such masters of the ringing change of words as Aeschylus and Ovid and Virgil; to Herodotus and Pliny are added Boileau and Pope, Gibbon and Gervinus, Hamilton and Schubert, and many another name of men whose words can guide or support opinion. The third volume of *Altes und Neues* concludes with an account of a most recompensing, if equally fatiguing, ride from Smyrna to a point on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople. With briefest mention of this we leave the book which introduced our author into that realm of literary labour, of which he had dreamed, that no greater felicity lured the sons of men, than to dwell within its chequered shades.

Between 1858, and 1880, Prince Friedrich published no book, but some articles of which we are not able, in India, to verify the dates probably belong to the interval. These were contributions to the Kiel Journal and to english periodicals and in addition, were several obituary notices, amongst which was one published in the *Times* in November 1876 and commemorating the life of Count von Prokesch-Osten. In 1880-81, he published the result of five years of work in the first volume of *Kaiser Akbar*. Before further notice of this book, it will be of interest to form some estimate of the qualifications which its author brought to the accomplishment of his self-selected task. These it is easy to underrate, in face of his self-depreciation in presence of scholars such as Blochmann and Goldstücker, as well as before his own ideal of the perfected product of systematic education. Of certain natural qualifications for literary work. Prince Friedrich had full measure: he was industrious and spared no pains; he was patient and had the humility which promotes caution and he had that capacity for enthusiasm which is the vital spark of all work. His general culture was very considerable; he was free of french and english literature as fully as of his own; he could read Latin and Greek with pleasure; he had studied Sanskrit

under Goldstücker for several years—subject and teacher in themselves a constellation of educative forces—and he had in addition, the ductile mind of the travelled man,

It is undeniable that the first requisite for a scholarly handling of the material existing for a biography of Akbar is a knowledge of Persian sufficient to the collation of the Akbar-namáh, the Táíkh-i-Badáoní and the Tabaqát-i-Akbarí. Such critical skill the Prince never attained, and he tells us in his preface that he had to base his work upon translations. He, however, never proposed to himself to treat his subject in anything but such fashion as would make it acceptable to the ordinary reading world and for this, his available material was ample. He was not without knowledge of Persian, even at the commencement of his work and in 1876, he spent a winter in Paris for the purpose of increasing his acquaintance with it. He was, nevertheless, even to the last, put to inconvenience by want of facility in comparing discrepant statements in his english sources. Of these his main reliance was upon Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson's "History of India as told by its own historians." Another translation of the utmost value, was that in manuscript, of the Akbárnámáh, by Lieutenant Chalmers and in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. A mine of incalculable wealth to him was Blochmann's\* Aín-i-Akbarí, with its biographical notices and its extracts from the Táíkh-i-Badáoní. The field for european research was wide and the Prince spared neither time nor labour nor travel to reap from it. Of this, the mere consideration of the books to which he refers in the course of his volume, is evidence.

Turning now to the work itself, we find that it opens with a general introductory section concerning India and the history of the Timurids, leading down to Akbar himself. The second section deals with Akbar from his birth till the time of his independence that is, to the end of the twelfth year of the reign and the close of the rebellion of the uzbek chiefs in

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\* This book may be cited in support of the definition of genius, as an infinite capacity for taking pains and it is one of those which all who have occasion to work from it, must respect and admire. It suggests a fertile field for such littérateurs as have Persian well at command. Blochmann's biographical outlines (taken for the most part from the Maasir-ul-Umara) could certainly, in some cases, be filled up from family records and Akbar's stage be peopled with figures as life-like as those which move round Elizabeth.

To one who, without any knowledge of Persian, has followed the Prince over his ground for the purpose of rendering his book into English, his difficulties seem at times to have been great and sometimes to have arisen from causes which would be avoidable if the translations from the Persian had been subjected to the scrutiny of a revisional committee.

Jaunpūr. It contains also a review of the intellectual development of Akbar and of his forbears. The third section is headed, "Akbar extends his kingdom and confirms his government." This treats of his relations in battle and marriage with the Rājputs of Gujrat and of the struggle with the Afghāns of Bengal. It has also two chapters of high value one on the Administration and one on the downfall of the 'ulamās, the last including a most interesting account of Akbar's religious ideas and of the visits of the Goa Fathers to his court. The second volume takes up, in the fourth section, the rebellion in Bengal of the chagatār chiefs; the revolt of Muhammad Hakīm in Kābul and the affairs of Gujrat, Kashmīr and Afghānistān. It gives also an account of the Raushāni sect and concludes with details about Akbar's court and his domestic life. The fifth section narrates the conquest of the Dakh'in and the lamentable story of Salīm's revolt and closes Akbar's career.

This first volume was finished with great difficulty and amid presentiments of death which find utterance in its preface. Here, too, speaks the affection for his subject which had grown up in the Count in years of "intimate communion" within "four narrow walls," and which must have sharpened regret at his inability to illustrate the remaining scenes of his hero's career. To his book on sending it forth, he says: "The wide world "is rough with crags and tempestuous with storms"; if it should "not fare with thee as we desire, bear thy destiny with patience "and should any censure thee unmercifully, counsel them rather "to bend their powers to excel thee; so will thy path although "not thornless yet lead thee to thy goal." Within a few weeks of the Count's death, in 1881, his manuscript had been entrusted to Dr. Gustav von Buchwald for revision and edition. The second and completing volume appeared in 1885. As was perhaps inevitable, it bears the marks of change in the directing mind. One distinct alteration of plan is made by the substitution of voluminous quotation for the author's more laborious practice of assimilating his material into an independent creation. Dr. von Buchwald's method has advantages in face of the great difficulties which accrue to the finisher of another man's work but it makes some break of continuity in the book. One set of his quotations is however of interest, namely, that from Chalmers' somewhat inaccessible manuscript.

Akbar's life as set forth by his german commentator, reiterates the fact that he was a foreigner in India and that his rule was a military occupation. No drop of blood of any race within the Khaibar flowed in his veins and the armies by which he held his dominions were for the most part the levies of men who had followed his father from beyond the frontier

of Hindústán. Like himself, these settled in the country and in the earlier days of the occupation, brought in their families. After the adhesion of the house of Ambar (Jaipur) he had rájpút troops in his service but his main reliance was always on men of ultra-himálayan birth or descent.

It is so common to hear Akbar held up as a ruler of whom India may boast, because he was her own, that an Englishwoman takes a peculiar pleasure in repeating the fact of his alien birth. Not indeed because it is agreeable to go out of the way to tell again the less grateful facts of history, but because seeing this error, she has the hope that some hundreds of years hence, some of the men of her own blood whom only the brief tenure of their office has, she believes, thwarted from making a reputation as great and as well-deserved as Akbar's, may be so blended into India's story, that they, too, shall be claimed as rulers of whom the whole land may boast, notwithstanding that they are as alien in blood as was the mighty Emperor whose sway they now inherit.

By perusal of *Kaiser Akbar* an old fact concerning Bengal, and one which is not without eloquence to every *laudator temporis acti*, gains new prominence,—that its people have had scant part in its history, that is the tale of its rulers and their wars and their glory. It was not from Bengalis that Akbar took Bengal, but from the afghán rulers who had held it for their own profit for more than four hundred years. No name of any Bengali comes for mention in the Count's book as that of a Hindú who rose to power. The Hindús of great name whose services reflected glory on Akbar, were all distinguished as soldiers, before they were known for any other merit. Todar Mall, a khetri of Láharpúr, in Audh, was a general before he was a Díwán and the other renowned Hindús of the reign were almost without exception hard fighting Rájputs. Bengal in those days had no voice; its people were there, peaceful yielders of revenue; so, too, was the treasure chest, and then, as it had been for many a by-gone century, the history of the province was a record of the struggles for the key.

Of Akbar's talent as a controller of men, and of his surpassing interest as a man of active and unusual type of mind, we learn much that is unfamiliar from the Count von Noer book. His representation, moreover, presses it home that, spite of his intellectual proclivities and desire to deal justice, Akbar was not the ruler of a summer's day but a man of strenuous action and withal a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales. He believed, probably without any obtrusion of a doubt as to his course, that the extension and consolidation of territory was a thing worth fighting for; he believed in supremacy as in itself, a desirable

object and, having men and money, he went to work and took tract after tract without scruple. His position, being as he was, the builder of an empire, is comprehensible, and it is indisputable that his fame as a ruler is in no small degree due to the circumstance that, having men of diverse nationalities to manage, he compassed the task; a success which could not have been his, if he had not been given to conquest. He was not like Victoria, born heir to this briarean labour, but he brought it on himself by being what he was or nothing—a thorough and self-seeking annexationist.

In him there was fully developed, moreover, another form of imperial annexation,—that which absorbs enormous sums of money for the sovereign's personal use. Perhaps in no way is the progress of ideas about the claims of the holder of a kingly office on his people more marked, than by a consideration of the respective consumption of revenue on personal objects, under the Emperor of Hindústán of the 16th century and the Empress of the 19th. Akbar annually took from the service of the people, vast sums of money for the maintenance of his own and his sons' establishments. These establishments were not like the modest households of our Viceroys or even of the Queen-Empress herself but contained regiments of servants and armies of elephants, horses, &c., &c. Akbar's seraglio alone numbered 3000 women, each of whom had a fixed salary and definite perquisites. One needs no figures to assure one that the commissariat obligations only, of these domestic hordes would now prove, what Abul Fazl says the ordering of a harem was, a "question vexatious for even a great statesman." On the other hand, it is one of the remarkable features of the present occupation of India, that its Empress takes no single rupee from it for the maintenance of her State.

In at least one particular, the reigns of India's most potent rulers are alike. Akbar, as does Victoria, administered his empire by means of foreign officials and like her, held it by a foreign army. Akbar's officials of cis-himálayan birth who were distinguished for other than martial talent, were singularly few. Todar Mall, Bír Bal, and though *impari passu* Rái Patr Dás completing their list. In one particular the administration of Akbar was distinctly inferior to that of Victoria; it was tainted by the corruption which makes an office lucrative beyond the range of its nominal salary. Akbar's lieutenants ruled like kings in state and luxury and for the greater part of his reign, as was natural when the strong arm yielded the one essential service he required from his chiefs, their doings were practically unchecked. Todar Mall at length, attempted some restraint, but he does not come into prominence as even a soldier till the 18th year of Akbar's reign and although employed for a short



time in revenue matter in that year and in the 19th, he did not as Dīwan institute his memorable financial reforms till the 27th. Meantime the pagoda tree flourished and bore fruit.

Undoubtedly Akbar's greatest power of attraction for us lies in his many-sidedness. He was an all-round man and the pages which concern him offer at every turn fresh matter for interested perusal. Everything was food for his activities, and his career was an unbroken development of character. In youth, he was a dashing and impetuous soldier and together with physical vigour, had a capacity for intellectual occupation which time fostered to be the assuagement of his failing strength. The Count delights to dwell upon that side of the Emperor's character which prompted just dealing and no less, on that which was its complement, his intellectual interest in varieties of custom and creed. Probably the very tolerance for which he is renowned, was less the outcome of conquered prejudice than of this openness of mind to novelty. Tolerant he was, but by no means so much so as is the British Rāj, which sits apart from all the burning topics in which Akbar delighted. He rejoiced in polemical discussion and there is in his career nothing more interesting than his Thursday convocations of professors of all the creeds, in the 'Ibādāt Khānah, at Fathpūr Sikrī. His tolerance was, it must be admitted, more at the service of the latitudinarians than of the orthodox of the muhammadan faith who were regarded with less favour than were even orthodox Hindūs. This was natural, for the Emperor's mind was seeking material for the institution of his own creed, the Dīn-i-ilāhī and he could get stimulus better from opinion in ferment than from rigid and definite creeds. Of all the many interesting passages of our author's work, none exceeds in attraction that which tells of the missions of the Jesuit Fathers from Goa to the Court of Akbar and the liking and respect which the doubting Emperor conceived for Father Aquaviva.

In concluding this notice of *Kaiser Akbar* it should be said that the book has two points of special value: it is the first life of Akbar published apart from such as are incorporated in general histories and it gathers together great store of information from books which are somewhat difficult of access.\*

It now remains only to speak of the third and last of the works of which the names head this article and on which its biographical portion is based. Strictly it is not the production of the Count von Noer for it was edited and in part written

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\* *Kaiser Akbar* has been translated into French by M. G. Bonet de Maury and an English translation will shortly appear.

by others. It consists of sketches of various periods of his life from his own hand, extracts from his diary, and numerous letters from him to friends and relatives. To these have been added passages by other hands, as supplement to inevitable *lacuna*. The book is edited by the lady to whom he dedicated the greatest effort of his life. On the opening page of *Kaiser Akbar* stands inscribed "With grateful affection, I dedicate this work to Carmen, Countess of Noer, my beloved wife and comrade." The volume of extracts (*Nachlass*) which does so much to show in their subject the bloom of the qualities which are the obligation of nobility, bears the dedication; "Consecrated, with grateful affection, to the memory of a noble man by Carmen, Countess of Noer." All can take the hint given by these epitomes of ruptured happiness, and need not be told that the volume under our notice is a labour of love. Its contents would awaken interest, even if the Count had left no other written word, because they delineate a man of sterling excellence and most winning character. They tell a tale of suffering and deprivation and so, too, of a just and upright spirit whom losses and loneliness did not sour but made tolerant and grateful for affection. Brave and gentle, he veiled courageous independence under a courteous and modest manner; he lived laborious days in pursuit of an idea and he bore a dole of pain with a patience, pluck and elasticity which command hearty admiration. All this and much more can be read in the *Remains*, which has the additional merit of simplicity and straightforward reliance on the penetrative power of an estimable and attractive character.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

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ART. VI.—SOME INDIAN DEMONS, AND SOME  
• OTHERS MET WITH BY THE WAY.

SOME old and old-fashioned English families—perhaps by way of accentuating their claims on antiquity—are careful to keep a ghost somewhere about the ancestral premises. Lineal descendants of forgotten Irish kings make it a point to cherish and keep alive somewhat more than the memory of their especial dynastic banshee. In Scotland, second-sighted Scotland, equivalent survivals abound. One of them is tolerably well known as “the mystery of Glamis,” a riddle, the true answer to which it is said, is never known to more than three living men: To wit, the Laird himself, his heir, and the factor to the estate. The guess at it which meets with most popular favour surmises that the Lady Glamis, who was burnt as a witch on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh, in 1537, had commerce with Satan, and that the offspring of that amour is living still, a demon chained up at Glamis Castle in a dungeon.

As a matter of tradition, Arthur, the Laureate’s “blameless king,” is more worshipfully regarded by English folk of the west country-side than St. George of Cappadocia, England’s titular Saint. And yet Arthur was demon-affiliated, so to speak, through his relationship to Morgan le Fay, if to no others. Merlin, his mentor, his mundane providence, was distinctly demon born, a being whose birth, in the old legendary lore, is traced to a Satanic conspiracy (happily rendered of no effect) to counteract the salutary results of Christian redemption.

The belief of inhabitants of the British Isles in stories of the sort we have been referring to, is however held shamefacedly for the most part. Certainly now-a-days, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, desirous of laying any claim at all to education, feel themselves in duty bound to pooh-pooh demons, ghosts, witches, and all of that ilk.

In the dreamy orient it is altogether different. The oriental who dared proclaim disbelief in an unseen world, would be deemed by his friends and the oriental world at large, a very foolish fellow; or else a man condemned by fate, whether for his own sins or the sins of his forefathers, to a very parlous state of mental and moral blindness. It is not uncommon in the Mofussil India of to-day for witches, when they have a grudge against any one, to prepare a puppet likeness of this person, and with due formula of cursing and incantation, to stick nails or pins into it until the person incanted on dies, probably by

virtue of means more criminal, more utilitarianly poisonous, than witchcraft ever could be. They behave to the full as witches, used to behave in Europe some three hundred years ago, when King James the 6th of Scotland and 1st of England put forth his "Demorelogie," being moved thereto by conscience "to resolve the doubting hearts of many, both that such assaults of Satan are most certainly practised, and that the instruments deserve most severely to be punished." They behave much as they did, we take it, when Sir Thomas Browne, author also of a *Treatise on Vulgar Errors*, be it remembered, published his *Religio Medici*; and wrote in it "for my part I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of them do not only deny them, but spirits, and are obliquely and upon consequence, a sort not of infidels but atheists." Addison, Blackstone, "the judicious Hooker," Dr. Johnson, John Wesley, were all English worthies who believed in witchcraft. Addison wrote:—\* "When I hear the relations that are made from all parts of the world; not only from Norway and Lapland, the East and West Indies, but from every particular nation in Europe, I cannot forbear thinking there is such an intercourse and commerce with evil spirits as that which we express by the name of witchcraft." Wesley wrote:—"The sceptics well know, whether Christians know it or not, that the giving up witchcraft is in effect giving up the Bible."

The educated Hindustani of 1887 believes in demons and witchcraft just as devoutly as did King James, and Sir Thomas Browne, and John Wesley: and he is not at all ashamed of his belief. He knows well enough that demons no longer live in our midst, on this side of India, in the magnificence of a state of life, the memory of which is fossilized in such ruins as are to be found at Tribeni. He is aware that they are not now in possession of such temporal power as the remains of demon forts scattered all over Bengal, Behar, and Orissa are remembrancers of. He knows, too, that on the other side of India, they do not, in these latter days, build such architectural glories as at Mathurá, almost persuaded Mahmúd of Gazni to abrogate the fury of his iconoclasm. He is aware, too, that for less superior persons all over India, they have provided handsome legacy of traditions as to the days of their authority—traditions that have found foundation in the folklore of the people, as well as in the remains of Jinn cities that were, once upon a time, like King Arthur's Camelot

"built

To music, therefore never built at all,  
And therefore built for ever."

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\* Spectator, 117.

All over \* India, although they have fallen somewhat from an erewhile high estate, even as the Brahmins have, demons are still powers. Bengalis not only believe that Bengal was once upon a time partially inhabited by a race of Asurs, and wholly dependent upon them for mundane government†; but also that they themselves are at this present time living in the midst of a demon population. Granted that, at this present time, Asurs hold no reins of government; do not raise armies, or coin money at their mints, or collect land revenue; yet, notwithstanding their retirement from overt connection with public business, and in spite of the cloaks of invisibility they see fit to assume in the day time, Bengali men and women know quite well that demons are round about them always and everywhere; that earth and air and fire and water are full of the unseen supernatural as well as the easily descried naturalness. They know how English soldiers are diabolically possessed and protected. They are well assured that, without demon aid, Mr. Bradford Leslie would never have been able to span the Hughli with a bridge. In the day time they can always discern spiritual presences in their mind's eyes: in the night time, with their bodily eyes too, very often. A demon European loafer, minus a head, haunts the neighbourhood of the Sealdah Railway Station and the adjoining burial ground, and compels night overtaken wayfarers that way, to buy "Belitee daru" for him, for which he pays in advance. Not long ago a cooly he impressed for this service tried to cheat him out of his change; and the demon loafer promptly wrung his neck, and killed him. Not long ago, amongst the news items from different parts of the country retailed in the

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\* Sir Lepel Griffin, in his book, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, writes of the mountain range Goghar ka Dhar, in the Mandi State:—"This range has a reputation similar to that of the Brocken in the Hartz mountains on Walpurgis Night. On the 3rd September, the demons, witches, and magicians from the most distant parts of India, assemble here and hold their revels, during which time it is dangerous for men to cross the mountain. The spirits of the Kulu range are also said to wage war with those inhabiting the Goghar, and after a violent storm the peasants will show travellers the stones which have been hurled from range to range."

Sidh Sen, chief of Mandi, who was a hundred years old when he died in 1779, was a mighty wizard. Sir Lepel Griffin writes: "he had a little book, which like that of Michael Scott, contained charms and spells which demons were compelled to obey: when he placed it in his mouth, he was instantly transported whither he wished through the air."

† Tradition has it that one Sambar Asur, King of the Hughli, Bardwan, Jessor, and Nadiya districts was, in the neighbourhood of Kishnaghur, slain by Pradyumna, the son of Krishna; and thereafter buried in an immense pit; by way of raw material for the generation of local earthquakes it would appear.

columns of the Calcutta daily papers, I chanced on a paragraph setting forth how sundry Sunderbund folk, detected carrying on an illicit distillery, pleaded in excuse that the liquor they had been caught manufacturing was intended solely for the consumption of local demons, who preferred drams with a parochial flavour to excised importations from foreign parts. Only a day or two ago I overheard a little Anglo-Indian boy, fresh from his evening tale of prayer at his mother's knee—enquiring of his ayah as he was being put to bed: "*Khoda kya khata hai, Ayah? Khoda, admi ko khata hai?*"

Now I have not the slightest reason to suppose, that, in the course of her religious instructions to this little boy, his mother ever, at any time, had the slightest notion of putting into his mind conception of an anthropophagous demon deity. But there it was. I have heard another child, a "spoilt" child, suggest that under given circumstances he would get mamma to put God in the corner; and I have heard him make the same suggestion to a bearer threatening him with the visitations of a *bui*. Following a similar train of thought the untutored savage beats his fetisch on occasion. It seems to me, by the way, that the lessons a good many English children get taught about God are too often so worded and so inculcated, that the child's conception of the deity whose worship is enjoined, becomes, in effect, conception of what most moderns mean when they speak of a demon.

It is plain enough that, in the childhood of the world, amongst the teachers of infantile mankind, the distinction between gods and demons was very indefinite, very elastic. Archæologists differ to this day as to who were gods and who demons in that old world cradle of supernaturalism, of which the land of Egypt was centre. One finds the names Deva and Asur interchangeable in some of the Vedas. The Asurs of the Indian story of creation took part in the archaic ocean churning, and helped to bring forth *Amrita*, the water of life. They must have been—it has been suggested—the special authors of such pleasant irrelevancies to the churning, as the moon with glad countenance, the goddesses of good luck and wine, and the tree of plenty.

In the legendary wars between Devas and Asurs, the Devas did not always get the best of the fighting: indeed, the practical upshot of the fighting seems to have been the discomfiture of Indra, and the Devas recognizing his authority, enrolled under his banner,—and their consequent emigration from contested Central Asian tablelands to India.

In the Zend legend, victory seems to be pretty equally balanced between gods and demons. In Hellenic tradition one finds Ge, the mother of the Titans, priding herself on being

better born than Zeus, and her quasi demon children pitting themselves in fight against Olympian Gods : pitting themselves in vain as it happened eventually ; but Olympus had to put forth all its energies to repel them : Gods and Titans contended on quite equal terms.

Nile slime has been a fecund generator of demon spawn. Satan and Ahiman in time developed many points of likeness ; but I take it that Satan is a conception essentially Jewish ;\* and it is from Hebrew tradition,† (Persian tradition infiltrated,) that English protestantism derives most of its ideas about Satan and his demon hierarchy : ideas far more respectful towards them than those that obtained in more Catholic times. Dunstan tweaked the devil's nose with a pair of red hot pincers. Luther was not inclined to do him homage ; but latter day protestantism is. Besides, it is such a comfort to some people to be able to attribute their misdeeds to an occult authority beyond reach of human power of resistance.

Occult philosophies dealing with, and more or less dependent upon demons and familiar spirits, crop up every now and again in 19th century times, pretty much as they did when the world was younger, and Plutarch suggested to scoffers at the bad verses delivered as oracles, that the God did not make the verses, but only communicated the moving impulse that led to their manufacture. Mr. Martin Tupper's rendering of his oracles, is possibly a modern instance of similar failure in the adaptation of manufacturing talent to raw material ; Madame Blavatsky's another. A couple of centuries ago such a heterodox enthusiast would have been burnt probably, by way of sacerdotal protest against demonism. Faggot-and-stake fashions have gone out of fashion in our times, and instead of burning priestesses of the occult, or drowning them by way of finding out, whether they are or are not too friendly with the Devil for orthodox toleration, enlightened people laugh their pretensions to scorn, and flock to their seances. It is noteworthy that Madame Blavatsky's system of theosophy, and its groundwork of familiar spirits, is being taken to very kindly by young India. Our educated Baboos are sceptically inclined about the old gods, and the old religions ; but incline to believe still in demons, ghosts, and magic.

Under older orderings of affairs spiritual than now usually obtain, demons, when not actively in opposition, were often

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\* Voltaire, by the way, held it a certainty that the cohabitation of witches with goats, the devils presidency at their sabbaths as a he goat, and their manner of doing homage to him in that form by kissing *la derrière*—all the ceremonial observed at these orgia—came from the Jews, having been learnt by them from the Egyptians.

† And Milton.

made useful to old world divinities, as chorus to their transcendentalism, supports to the maintenance of their dignity, washers sometimes, so to speak, of their dirty linen, who could, if needful, be held answerable for the fact that there was dirty linen to wash. Their office it was to minister to the greater glory and convenience of High Gods, to act as intermediary agents between those gods and men, to be primitive Mercuries of various sorts. Even Mahomet, much as he insisted on the oneness and all sufficiency of Allah, did not care to dispense with such a hierarchy.

Naturally, such intermediaries were not all vested with possession of equal rank, power and natural ability. In course of time some developed into gods, and some have fallen. One may see a somewhat similar process of evolution and selection at work in the India of to-day. In the last Census Report for Bengal, for instance, Mr. Bourdillon points out that room is being made in the Hindu Pantheon for reception therewith of demons who had till lately been accustomed only to the tutelage and worship of rude aboriginal tribes, whilst at the same time manufacture, or an adaptation to altered circumstances of other demons, goes on in suitable ratio. Brahmanism may not be a proselytizing creed in the sense in which Western world folk use the word proselytizing: but it is not unreceptive, when sufficient inducements make bids for its patronage.

Like most of the religious systems that were founded in ancient times, and found favour with the ancients, it is fundamentally aristocratic in constitution, and provides accordingly one creed for well-born, well-to-do people, another for the plebeian and poor. As a class the Brahmins believe in demonism. Many of them are fain to make a living out of exorcism.

Some Brahmins, and others who do not personally believe any more than the exorcists do in demonism, find it probably as useful an aid to power over the laity, as did some Bishops of the primitive Christian Church, when that Church had outgrown the communist tending gospel that at first recommended it to the poor and people of low estate, and had begun to affect aristocratic pretensions and distinctions. Commentators on early Church history have filled many big folios with disquisitions on demons and their origin, nature, developments, appointed work amongst men and women, and seem to have been almost as much concerned with demonology as with the accurate classification of heresies. St. Augustine considered he had indubitable proof that the sylphs and fauns, and all sorts of "incubi," were fond of, and resorted to, carnal intercourse with women; and his writings helped much to lead Churchmen, centuries after his time, to orthodox



ecclesiastical judgment and practise with regard to "possessed" people, witches, &c. The witch of pagan times had great powers: but they were powers quite unconnected with religion; were never held to be a defiance of religion. Mental derangement, too, a man's bodily possession by some demon, that is to say in effect, was never in those ancient times matter for opprobrium till Christianity and Churchmen stigmatized it as a degradation. *Apropos*, in the early part of the 11th century, long years after the Church had outgrown primitiveness, an unfortunate grammarian, one Bilgard of Ravenna, was condemned to death, because he was haunted by evil spirits, who assumed the shape, now of Horace, now of Virgil, anon of Catullus, or some other pagan writer, and who managed to persuade poor Bilgard that their writings are not necessarily heretical. An incident suggestive of a melancholy corollary to Horace's hackneyed—"Non omnis moriar," &c. Was it to turn demon at last, that the genial old-world Herrick avoided the ordinary lot of mortals?

It was not till 1484 that Innocent the Eighth's Bull against the Occult World was promulgated, and quickly followed by the famous *Malleus maleficarum*—a digest of demonological law, a compendium of instructions for every day procedure therein; and the corner stone of many horrible persecutions.

Oriental diabolism, and fear of diabolism, has never taken such cruel shape as, under the sanctions of the Church, it took in the West. The demons allotted to popular use in India differ altogether from their European kith and kin. Notably, they are not as a rule, vindictively disposed towards mankind. Usually, at any rate, few are vindictive, though they are often boisterously and unkindly mischievous. It is to the Goddess Kali and not to demons that human sacrifices are offered in Bengal; it was to propitiate the Earth Goddess, not any demon, that Merias were offered up in Southern India. Even the man-eating-tiger fulfils his bloody mission in the way he does, only because no other way is open to him of reminding relations and erewhile fellow villagers of duties they have left unfulfilled. Let the vexed ghosts of men who have been untimely killed by tigers, be appeased with such propitiatory sacrifices and offerings as are their due. Thereafter the desire for revenge on an undutiful society that induces them to help the tiger, to guide his sacrificial footsteps, will be no longer existent.

Again, the Ghost Snake (Bhút Sampa), to be heard of in parts of Behar, is not malicious on its own behalf. But if anyone is unlucky enough to provoke the utmost ire of a powerful witch woman, she may entrust to the *Bhút Sampa* execution of a death warrant; and by virtue of that authority, it will appear in a dream to the condemned person, and bite

him or her, and convey its incorporeal presence away to some other dream-world. People bitten by this ghostly nightmare, make up their minds that they must needs die twenty-four hours after the supposed biting; and having so determined, they *do* die. It is surely conceivable that, with very ignorant, simple-minded folk, faith may be a very real motive power. The difficulty lies not in the moving of mountains, but in a man's ability to believe that he can. Faith sometimes is Fate. The *bhūt-sampa* is as passive an instrument in the hands of such a fate as the man who believes he has been bitten by it; neither, necessarily or presumably malicious on its own account. Putting on one side the man-eating-tiger, the *bhūt-sampa*, and two or three more Indian demons whose dealings with mankind are ambiguous, the rest of the family are no more disposed to behave cruelly to the men and women they live amongst, than those men and women are disposed to regard them with absolute disfavour. Although, however, Indian demons, considered in the aggregate, are not consistently malicious like the demons of Europe, it is yet true, enough that they are all of them jealous demons, and that some of them do, on occasion, show great vindictiveness, and are apt to be peevish and unreasonable at times. They are Indian \* demons, in short, and dealings with them often call for the exercise of diplomatic talents. These are the very talents Indians excel and delight in. Even, however, as amongst men and women, prolonged tickling, or injudicious tickling, sometimes induces tears and uncomfotability and ill-temper, so it may happen amongst demons. Indian ghosts are not always, not on the whole, quite so good-tempered as Indian demons. Still, prithee, consider the *Churail's* long suffering loving kindness, and call to mind how dangerous it is in the Western world for a man to have any thing whatsoever to do with feminine spirits, even though he may do them a kindness. Pious Parson Rudall, of Launceston in Cornwall, who with the help of prayer, a pentacle and a crutch of rowan at the intersection of its five angles, laid the Bothathen ghost and delivered that unquiet spirit from trouble, fell a victim soon afterwards to the plague. Le Sieur Nann, in the Breton story, meets the Korrigan in the forest, and loves her—and death is the penalty. Similarly the Kanekas

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\* Chinese demons follow a coffin to the burial ground, as must also the spirit of the defunct, and if the demons bear it a grudge, they with pinchings, pin prickings, manifold spiteful tricks, make things very uncomfortable for it. By way of diverting their energies into another channel, the Heathen Chinese mourner drops sham bank-notes on the road, and the local demons fall into the trap with an ingenuous simplicity quite charming to think of, and find employment for their mischievous fingers in picking up the wind-blown-about scraps of worthless paper.

of new Caledonia tell a tale of one of their fellows who met in the woods an amiable dryad, and mistook her for his Earth-world's sweetheart, and found her caresses deadly. Nowhere in the Western world do the ghosts of women who have been made victims to a man's cruelty, perfidy, lust, incline to forget and forgive. They are not kindly disposed towards other men—men who have done them no wrong—but unkindly; and they delight in revenging themselves on mankind at large. Not thus does the *churail* behave. Having suffered at the hands of a man, inasmuch as she died in child-bed, she sets her ghostly affections on the first mortal man coming within range of her spiritual accessibilities; every night favours him with her company; loads him with costly presents and tokens of kindly regard. She makes but one condition with him; puts but one chance of limit to her loving kindness. He must tell nobody the secret of their love. If he does, whatever implied contract there may have been between them, is therewithal rendered null and void; the costly presents dissolve into air and emptiness; the vain, babbling fool is left to bemoan his folly. But that is all that happens. There is no dying in three days, or wasting away in three months, as would have happened if the *churail* had been a Western world bred ghost. The worst thing that can be laid to her charge is, that she is instrumental to the conveyance of a moral. Dimly, one may discern how, in another state of existence, a lesson they were unable to learn while yet in the flesh may be taught to the ghosts of women; how by virtue of occult spiritual influences brought to bear on tender personal relations, keeping a secret may come to be recognized by them as an obligation under certain circumstances.

It has been well said—

"'Tis love, 'tis love, 'tis love  
That makes the world go round."

Why not in the spirit-world as well as in ours? Old church histories abound in instances of, and accountings for, demon amours. So do mediæval romances. Towards the end of the 16th century, in the year 1580, to be precise, there was published in Paris a book entitled *La Demonomanie des Sorciers*. Its author, Jean Bodin, was an eminent French lawyer, a man reputed wise, not only in his own time but also in ours; for his political treatise *De la Republique* has been praised by Hallam and by Dugald Stewart for philosophical ability and acuteness. And M. Bodin abundantly testifies to the frequency, piquancy, and ardour of demon loves for mortal maidens. As an instance of charity on the part of an Indian demon, sexual love unadulterated, take Moung-Oo who dispenses physic on credit to the Burmans he lives amongst, and who, having fulfilled

his ministrations to a quite impécunious patient, will be content, in the way of fees, to accept from him a promise to pay, so many pigs, or so many fowls, in six months' time, or a year's time, as luck may serve. Buddhist priests in Burmah find no difficulty in persuading the people to do without gods. But we doubt much whether they would be able to persuade the people to do without demons; supposing that they had the least desire or notion of trying to. They have not. In every respectable Burman's house there is an altar to the tutelary demon thereof, who may be either male or female as to sex, and who is ordinarily as inoffensive as it is invisible. To that tutelary demon, independently of other subsidies, the "first-fruits" of any food eaten, any grog consumed in the house, must be offered up. Once in a way, when half a dozen guests tumble in to dine at his board, unbidden and unexpected, a Burman host, in the hurry of his hospitable intents absorbed, may set before them food and liquor, and forget the customary offering. Then the house demon, jealous and angry, will enter into and "possess" the body of one of these guests enjoying a feast of which it has not been asked to partake, will cause the possessed person to be rude, and to make use of abusive language to the other guests, to sing such extremely improper songs that even Burmese ears are shocked, to make the house of the feast-giver a nuisance generally to himself and to the neighbourhood. Much effusion of contrition and coaxing is needful to induce the offended house patron to leave the body of the possessed person, and to resume his or her ordinary function as friend of the family, and guardian in ordinary of its interests. But a family quarrel of this sort is of very rare occurrence. As a rule Burmans are not unmindful of the privileges of their home demons; and the home demons for their part, do not nurse long their just wrath over a breach of privilege. In disposition they are, Burman-like, good natured. Buddhist affiliated demons usually are. Long years ago, when Brahmadata was king in Benares, one of his queens bore to him a son, Mahimsa high, to whom it was appointed, when time should be older, to sojourn in this world awhile as Gaudama Bhuddha. As the manner used to be with Indian princes in good old Aryan times, he was obliged, when grown up, to go into exile. A brother and a half brother accompanied him; and one day, as the three wandered in a forest, they chanced upon a pond, with water from which Mahimsa thought he would like to quench his thirst. So he lay down under a tree, and told his half-brother to bring him some. After waiting an hour or two for his return, the other brother was despatched to see what delayed him: but neither did he return. Then Mahimsa, exalted prince, and privileged elder brother though he was, began

to perceive that some holding in abeyance of dignities and ceremonial, some exertion on his own part, had become necessary, if he wanted his thirst appeased; and he, too, went down to the pond. When he got there, the demon to whom it belonged, interrogated him as to the nature of true divinity, premising that he was in the habit of eating people who were unable to expound this riddle to his satisfaction. When Mahimsa had, in a manner with which we are not presently concerned, concluded his exposition, the demon disgorged his brothers and remarked: "Not only dost thou know what true divinity is, O wise one, but thou hast even acted in keeping with it." Truly, a rare combination of good gifts. There may well have been, at the time when this adventure happened, demons quite as kindly in disposition as was this enchanted pond riddle-monger. But it is difficult to conceive of a demon able to preach a pithier sermon in few words.

"Not profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for edification, for building up or elevating in any shape." So, years ago, Mr. Carlyle wrote of the Waverley Novels. Can it be perchance because of some profitableness abiding in them, that demon methods of preaching and teaching are so decried by goody-goody folk, with whom the Waverley Novels continue to be authoritative? A liberal-minded Scotch minister did once invite his congregation to join with him in prayer for "the puir deil." But he was a most exceptional worthy. Usually, missionaries, *in partibus infidelium*, are very bitter indeed in speech against the devil, and all his works and belongings, demons included; and it is edifying to take note of what a wide range of works they manage to connect him with. Especially when they come to India, and there encounter urbane demon foes whose tactics they have not been prepared to comprehend, and whose behaviour amongst men and women cannot always be made to fit in with the teachings of Clapham, or Watson's "Institutes of Theology," or the Regent's Park College. They fail to see that the disestablishment of demons in India can no more be effected by means of educational exorcisms thence derived, than it can be by Act of Parliament. They are more successful in their endeavours amongst aboriginal tribes than with any other natives of India. But, even so, demons continue to dominate such ideas about religion as aboriginal Indian tribes are able to assimilate. Take Santhal villagers by way of instance. Whether over and above their professions of Christianity, or independently of Christianity, they believe in one supreme god, a deity called Chandabunga. Amongst them, it is customary; once in three or once in five years, as the case may be; to offer

a goat in sacrifice to him, its owner calling upon Chanda-bunga's name whilst in act to cut the throat of the victim—which he then proceeds to cook, and eat. The dryads Jahirira, Monikoh, Marungburu, and Gosaiera are, as a matter of fact, more frequently and reverently honoured. But fullest Santhal meed of honour, of worship, is paid to the demon Manjiharam; often called familiarly and fondly Boodha Manjhi, of which affectionate nickname "Old Santhal" is said to be a fair interpretation. The stone representative of his spiritual presence amongst Santhalis is to be found in some central part of every Santhal village not wholly given over to German-Lutheran dominion; or wholly given over, but not subjected to strict preventive watch and ward. Quite beyond Indian Missionary ken, the inhabitants of the Nicobar Island, who appear to have no conception at all of a God, rejoice in possession of a demon. They alternately coax him with offerings, and frighten him with scarecrows; and they seem to find such *argumentum ad judicium* as persuasive as a negro does the *argumentum Baculinum* applied to his fetisch. Similarly, not long ago, when the *vox populi*, that is his *vox Dei*, contumaciously rejected his offerings, Mr. Gladstone used to hoist the scarecrow resignation, and sulk until his demon, weary of going without new turns to the sacrificial wheel, and holocaust of slaughtered Whig and Tory arguments, and savour of honeyed democratic speeches, made overtures for reconciliation. Similarly—though with Cromwellian turn of the wrist to boot—Prince Bismarck serves his Parliaments still. Civilization is a respectable sort of cant, and can become at times as able as it is willing to destroy ancient temples, and to desecrate old world, or strange world altars and shrines. It may repudiate the *δαίμων* and ostentatiously do without any divine afflatus for genius: but it is never able to break down utterly all the bridges that connect it with more primitive worships.

We have referred to demon possessions in connection with Burmese regard for house demons. Epileptic fits, immoderate use of drugs, fastings, and the dreams and dream interpretations they induce, national traditions, child-like sublimities of ignorance—are all factors that help on such "possessions," and make manifestations of them common enough amongst men and women in India. Amongst sundry animals, too, such manifestations are common. The dog, the wolf, and the goat, of course: they are occult world affiliated all over the world. The cat is not now-a-days a witch's familiar in England. In India, parents are very careful to let no cat get anywhere near a newly-born infant, lest it should bring with it a demon to torment the child. The meek dove, Western world emblem

of peace and love, is a demon-possessed herald of death and doom. The "ship of the desert," held up to English school-boy admiration, is demon family affiliated; gets laid upon him sometimes much the same burden of iniquity the Jewish scape goat used to be saddled with. The serpent, too, is still a demon principality; an object of much veneration and worship. Mr. Sherring, in his book on Hindu Tribes and Castes, says that they all, without exception, worship the snake.

It is a somewhat notable survival. There would seem but little room for worthy doubt that serpent-worship was one of the earliest and one of the most widespread of religious cults. On the attestation of its fauna and flora scientific people have, with as much unanimity as can be expected from such people, agreed to believe that Australia is the oldest soil now existing on the face of the globe. Whether primeval man had his origin there; whether in some primeval world convulsion Australia drifted away from the African continent; or whether it was ever near enough to Asia to derive from thence its inhabitants, are riddles to which, happily, we are not constrained to reply. We only refer to them as helping to fair presumption that the men who discovered Australia in modern times, found themselves face to face with a people who were, to all characteristic intents and purposes, primeval—in whatsoever fashion it happened to their ancestors to people that continent. These latter day discoverers at any rate found themselves in the midst of a people who had learnt nothing, invented nothing,\* built nothing, helped to develop nothing; not even found out that the soil they lived on was worth any sort of systematic tilling; any tilling at all, one might say without running much risk of exaggerating. But all this backwardness notwithstanding, they had found out how to worship a demon; a huge serpent called Jingà, who haunted caves and dark places. Evidently, therefore, no sun-god substitute, servant or symbol, such as men of the Max Müller school of philology are fond of relegating and referring all occult powers to. No earth-god manifestation either of any serviceable, other country like earth-god similitude. Jingà was too uniformly lethargic, too purposelessly malevolent for that. A demon sheer and simply. Not even amiable enough, or selfishly far-sighted enough, to let his worshippers know of the stores of gold lying hid just under their feet. Bright, soft, easily malleable gold that might, without much effort, have been converted into gewgaws, and such personal adornments as are dear to the hearts of the most rudimentary of men and women. In other countries and amongst other peoples, serpents have shown

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\* The boomerang is now claimed as an Egyptian invention.

a title to grateful regard from men, by discovering to them the secrets of the earth, and teaching them how to work metals, as Cadmus did in Greece, and the Nágs did in India. Much worshipped although he was, surly Australian Jingà never did anything of the sort for his worshippers; appears to have been a most exceptionally stolid, crabbed, demon: as unlike the generality of serpent demons as Cerberus was probably in days before he cast that uncongenial skin, and arraying himself more suitably as a dog, approved himself a cynic philosopher with the courage of his convictions.

The serpent, the giver of good gifts to men, the healer, the teacher, the guardian of religious mysteries, has fallen from his high estate; can now count no Druid worshippers in Gaul or Britain; find no altar places amongst latter-day Greeks, Romans, Mexicans, and Jews. The only relict of the worship to which Jewish tradition at all inclines to cling now is memory of Lilis or Lilith, the demon serpent woman who was Adam's first wife, and bore to him demon progeny. Serpent-worship is extinct amongst the descendants of most of the serpent-worshippers of old time. But still in India, all Hindu castes, without exception, worship the snake. So do many Indian Mahomedans. Only Dhangars, Musahars, &c.—no caste men, whose bellies are their gods, and who are omnivorous—care to kill snakes: will kill snakes one may say broadly. We were once in the act to knock on the head one which had intruded on the verandah of a banga'ow in the Mofussil, when a Rajput servant begged its life and taking it up tenderly in his bosom, carried it away and set it free in an adjoining field.

Not long afterwards opportunity offered of looking up the character of this petted snake in Dr Fayrer's book on the thanatophidia of India; and we found it set down in that *Index Expurgatorius* as a most deadly reptile. Our Rajput, we take it, gave irreproachable evidence of the reality as well as the courage of his religious belief, as far as it was concerned with snake-worship. Some of our readers will doubtless be able to fall back on their own experiences of every-day Mofussil life for quite as cogent manifestations of a living faith in serpent sanctity.

We have come across natives who may be induced, *on a Sunday*, to kill the *harrara*, the little little grass snake of Mofussil gardens. On that one day of the week its bite is poisonous; some curse of sin is laid on it; and ill-luck is not bound to dog the fortunes of the man who does it an injury. Woe will betide the man who, on any day of the week, injures a *lakh pitti*, a serpent dispenser of wealth. Popular withal as a 'poor man's friend'; indisposed to bite anybody not worth a lakh of rupees. Cobras and other snakes, death menacing when driven to a corner, or in



any fashion impelled by fear to aggressive use of their powers, are in effect held to have deprived themselves of benefit of clergy, are "postponed," as the lawyers would say, to selfish considerations, and killed without much demur. But in the main, Indian snakes are still in popular acceptance demons; benevolent in intention rather than malignant, making malevolent exposition of their ability for hurtfulness only when exasperated, or compelled to self-assertion. Dangerous enough then. You may kill a cobra easily enough; but although its mate may be a mile or two off at the time, it will know who did the deed; and it is more than likely to revenge it. The only way to secure oneself against demon serpent resentments (a way only possible in special cases), is to disarm the serpent, to gain possession of the charmed jewel or stone whence its magic power is derived. The man who gains possession of a *maniara's* ruby will do more than disarm resentments; may secure to himself all the luck in life he desires. And the feat is not altogether an impossible one. At night time, feeding time, the *maniara* ejects this ruby from his throat, in order that its light may serve him for a lamp. Whoso, at such time, can make opportunity to possess himself of it, need not fear overmuch the issue of an immediate pursuit, if he will only remember to turn and twist, hare-like, in his flight. For, deprived of his magical jewel, the *maniara* will have become quite blind, and as incapable of quick turns and twists as the most commonplace of rustic ophidians. Before very long he must die of starvation, induced by sightless incapacity for hunting up food. And, in his case, there appears to be no irate, avenging spouse. In his exaltation the *maniara* dwells alone. Besides, the ruby ensures its present possessor against misfortune as long as he can hold fast to it. He has fate on his side; and as long as he can keep fate in his breeches pocket may defy even demons.

"What were rocks made for my brethren? Even that mariners might avoid them." That is a riddle once upon a time propounded, and pulpit answered by a clerical teacher of English people whose name has not been handed down to posterity, together with his interpretation of a rock hieroglyphic of his own invention. The advice he seems to have desired to convey, strikes us as good advice. We have a notion that if clerical teachers of Indian folk made more application of it than they do to their missionary endeavours amongst the said folk, we should hear less often than we do now of missionary shipwrecks, and hopelessly damaged missionary cargoes. We think a gospel of love would be far more likely to prove efficacious than a gospel of Satan and his angels; a gospel of fear. We think that Satan and his demons compare unfavourably

with the generality of Indian demons ; and that they might be less considered in missionary preachments, with advantage to the cause of Christianity. The educational churning of sorts that is going on in India now is not, in any particular like, the old legendary churning that induced *Amrita*, the water of life. Under a new dispensation Asurs, fallen from their high estate, are able to take but a very insignificant share in the stirring up of modern muddles and vacuities, as compared with the share they took under the primeval dispensation. And the new churning has no period put to it, goes on increasing and to increase, conquering and to conquer. It can rest satisfied with no mere water of life ; must furthermore have wine ; generous fulfilment, as well as initial sap of vital energies and aspirings. When it has achieved this, there will be no room in any of its outcomes for much demonism. Meanwhile, we are of opinion that Indian demons get more abused and disparaged than they deserve. They should at least be judged on their merits ; not condemned offhand just because some people choose to confound them with Western world-demons, and, having given their dog a bad name, proceed, with out further parley, to hanging.

When Indian demons do go to limbo, they will go, we take it, not because they are such bad, Satan modelled characters as some missionaries would have us believe, but because young India, having got out of leading strings, will stand in no further need of their services ; and because Indians, then, will not feel more grateful to their demons than English people do the Wolf who devoured little Red Ridinghood, or to the Beast who made occasion for committal to paper of the charming story of his and Beauty's adventures. Or than they do to the giants and giantesses who give Jack the Giant-Killer and other nursery heroes opportunity to inculcate, on child-minds, a great deal of more than doubtful morality—as to the bearing of which it is a precious child-privilege to have no definite ideas, and better still, to be compelled to swallow none of grown up people's invention.

JNO. HOOLEY.

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## ART. VII.—WHICH WAS IT? DAWHAPA OR WITCH.

Makhan's fattened bull was ill. All the wise men of the village collected round the *machān* upon which the poor beast lay, and looked at him with sad eyes and elongated countenances. They had watched him from his youth upwards, rejoicing in his rapid growth and increasing strength. They confidently anticipated the pleasure of seeing him conquer a rival bull in the adjoining village before being sacrificed at a wedding festival.

Makhan was a well-to do man, and he had made up his mind to have the best bull in his village; one that should be able to hold his own against all rivals. For this purpose he had travelled down from his village to the Pooteemarec Hât,\* and purchased the finest young bull calf he could find. The Garos never rear cattle, or keep cows; they purchase a limited number of young bulls at the hâts, and drive them up to their villages, there to be tended with the utmost care by the women of the family. They thrive well on the succulent young bamboo shoots that form their daily food, and the refuse grain that remains in the bottom of the large vessels in which the rice beer is made. When old enough, they afford the only sport that Garos indulge in to any extent, namely, bull-fighting, and then fulfil their destiny by being sacrificed to the Dawhápá or deities, and satisfying the hungry cravings of their owner's friends and relations.

Makhan had paid a good price for his calf, and his wife and children had fed it with juicy young bamboo shoots unremittingly. It had rewarded them for their care by growing large and powerful. One by one it had fought with, and conquered, all the bulls in its own village, and a fight had been arranged with a rival animal in the next village. Makhan's daughter was to be married, and the leading feature in the wedding festival was to be the victory, sacrifice, and consumption of the champion bull.

The heart of Makhan's rival sank as he saw the magnificent beast growing more powerful week by week. He plied his own animal with the youngest and freshest of bamboo shoots and tended him with the utmost care. The animals were well matched, and the excitement waxed hotter and hotter as the day appointed for their combat approached. Many a victory had the rival bull won, but now the time had come for him to

meet a worthy foe who would humble his pride in the dust. It wanted but a fortnight to the eventful day. In the evening the villagers, as usual, gathered round the *machān* upon which the bull was kept; admiring his size and strength. Was there ever such a bull before! How short and sturdy his legs were, how broad his forehead, what a magnificent hump he had, and such a dew-lap! They were never tired of discoursing on his perfections.

But the next day saw a change. The poor bull was very sick. He stood with drooping head and dull eyes, gazing languidly at the tempting food before him, not caring to eat any of it. Every one suggested some remedy for his sickness, but no one could solve the mystery of its cause. When—after a few hours, he sank wearily down as if life had become too heavy a burden to be supported standing, there was a groan from all the spectators.

"He will die," said Makhan gloomily. "My fate is bad indeed! What can I do!"

"Who has brought this misfortune on us," cried his wife. "Some one has bewitched our bull."

Every one turned and looked at a little old woman who stood close to the *machān*, with a cynical smile on her wizened face, and a jeering laugh bursting forth now and again from her thin lips. She was known to bear Makhan no good will. Could it be that she had bewitched his treasured bull?

The suspicion was rapidly gaining ground, when a grey-headed elder of the community suggested another theory.

"You have offended one of the *Dawhápá*" he said solemnly. "This is not the work of a witch, for the animal has not dwindled slowly away, it has been struck down in one night."

The crowd looked at one another with scared faces, if it should be Abette—the most easily offended and relentless of their deities—what a dire misfortune it would be. They whispered his name in awe-struck accents.

"No," said the old woman, shaking her head as much as her large bunches of earrings would allow her to: "No, it is not Abette, Abette kills slowly, too."

"Which is it then?" asked Makhan eagerly. "Which is it?" asked everyone in turn; "if you know, why don't you tell us?"

"You must find out," she said carelessly as she moved away.

An angry murmur rose. Many believed she had bewitched the bull, and would gladly have subjected her to the test of witchcraft. But Makhan's daughter suggested that they should try to find out which of the Garo deities had been offended, and brought the articles required for the ceremony of divining.

This turned their thoughts away from the suspected woman, and they watched Makhan eagerly as, holding a large leaf in his hand, in such a way that it formed a small cup, he filled it with water. Taking a grain of rice in his right hand he dropped it carefully into the water, mentioning, as he did so, the name of one of the Dawhápá, or gods of his tribe.

The grain sank to the bottom. He tried another and another, each time mentioning the name of a god. The inferior spirits were mentioned first, evidently in the hope that it might be one of them whom he had unwittingly offended. As each grain sank to the bottom of the cup, the faces of the spectators grew longer.

With a sigh Makhan uttered the name of the greatest of their gods—Schuschma. Every one craned forward to see if the grain of rice sank or floated, and a grunt of satisfaction expressed the general feeling of relief, when it was seen to sink slowly to the bottom. But there was another name they dreaded still more, for Schuschma, though powerful, is not supposed to be easily offended, whereas Abette, although inferior to the "father of the gods," is supposed to be much more ready to take offence, and is utterly relentless and unforgiving.

"Abette," said Makhan slowly with a slight quaver in his voice. If the grain floated the bull was doomed, for Abette never forgave, and Makhan himself would probably sicken and die. The grain followed its predecessors to the bottom, and there was a general sigh of relief.

"Luckhmee," suggested some one, as Makhan paused to collect his thoughts.

"Luckhmee." This time the grain floated on the surface, and a murmur of satisfaction ran through the crowd, for Luckhmee was the "mother of the harvest," and very easily propitiated. A few bamboo stakes were hastily cut and driven into the ground, a fowl was caught and killed with very little ceremony, and its blood and feathers smeared on the bamboo stakes, and the whole thing was over.

Makhan and his family eat the flesh of the fowl; it would be pure waste to offer that portion to the Dawhápá; and everyone went to sleep convinced that they had discovered the cause of the poor bull's indisposition and applied the remedy.

In the morning they changed their minds, for the animal was still very sick. They concluded that they had been mistaken in attributing his illness to Luckhmee, and reverted to the idea of witchcraft.

One of the village women had already fallen under the suspicion of witchcraft, and the belief in her guilt spread rapidly. The cynical old woman whose conduct had annoyed

her neighbours on the previous evening, was dragged out of her house, and would speedily have been subjected to a cruel ordeal to test her innocence but that a cat was required for this particular ordeal and none could be found. Cats are not plentiful in Garo villages, and on this occasion it was necessary to send some distance to get one. This occupied some time, and a few of the women amused themselves with trying to find out if the old woman was a witch or not, by less hurtful means than the severe ordeal proposed by the angry crowd.

They cut a little bamboo peg and creeping softly to where the old woman's shadow fell on the ground, pinned it—as they supposed—to mother earth. But she moved away without any difficulty and disappointed them. Then they made her sit on a log of wood cut from a particular tree, fully expecting that she would be unable to remain on it. But again they were disappointed, for she sat quietly on the log, which she could not have done if she had been a witch. These tests ought to have satisfied her accusers, but men are more difficult to convince than women, and the men refused to believe in her innocence unless she should pass uninjured through the terrible ordeal they were preparing for her.

She was to be fastened into a large basket with a live cat; a hole was cut in the basket to enable her to thrust her arm through it, and she was to be flung into the river. If she succeeded in grasping a handful of sand in her outstretched hand, without being scratched by the cat before rising to the surface, she would be declared innocent; but if she failed, the fact of her being a witch would be fairly proved, according to the Garo idea of a fair proof, and she would be driven out of her village to die in the jungle. No one would dare to take pity on her, and give her food or shelter. If she should be drowned, as was most probable, they would rejoice at having rid the village of her presence.

By the time a cat was procured, the evening had closed in, and Makham's daughter suggested that it would be well to wait until the morning and see if the bull was not better. This reasonable suggestion would have shared the fate that good advice generally does, but that nature came to the rescue of the poor old woman. A heavy thunder-storm broke over the village, and every one was glad to retire to the shelter of their houses.

Possibly, the old woman shared in the belief that she would escape quite uninjured if she were innocent, for she was undisturbed by the thought of what the morning would bring, and slept soundly. When the day broke, however, and she was dragged through the village towards the banks of the

river, she struggled desperately and abused her tormentors in choice language.

"Wait a little," cried Makhan's daughter hurrying from the edge of the jungle near her father's house, with an armful of fresh bamboo shoots. "He has been calling for his food for the last half hour. Let us see if he will eat it."

The crowd stopped. The bull was on his legs again, and certainly looked brighter and better. If he eat his food, there was some hope for him, and every one waited in silence to see what he would do. The poor old woman knew that her life depended on what he did. Her confidence of the night before had deserted her, and she clung to the bull's *nachān* with frantic energy, as if nothing should tear her away from it until he had eaten his leaves. When the animal stretched out his head and drew the little shoots, so temptingly offered to him, into his mouth, low chuckles of satisfaction, grunts of approbation, and cries of rejoicing resounded on all sides. The old woman burst into a passion of tears as she sank to the ground, completely overcome by the suddenness of her joy.

"It is all right, now," said Makhan's daughter kindly; "no one has bewitched our bull after all. You were in too great a hurry," she continued, turning to her fellow-villagers. "It was Lukhmee who was offended, you see. Perhaps she was on a journey and could not answer us sooner. She has cured our bull now."

Perhaps she had. Anyhow he lived to conquer his rival, and was sacrificed and disposed of to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

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## ART. VIII.—BENGAL EUROPEAN SCHOOL CODE.—II.

“Education is the master and keeper of time.”—*Thring*.

EDUCATION is a subject that can hardly ever stale upon us. A nation's progress depends on its education. If civilisation is to advance, the more discussion there is as to the ways and means of perfecting our educational methods the better. The urgency of the European education question in India is now acknowledged on all hands, and has received the direct attention of Government since 1881. In that year the Bengal European School Code began to be framed; it was first tried in 1883, and published in 1884, and various modifications have been made in it every year since. During my connection with two of the largest institutions in the Presidency, I was able, in five different capacities, to test the practicability of the Code, and since last year I have had the opportunity of working a growing school on the lines of a Code somewhat similar to, but much in advance of, the Government Code. The result of all this observation is my conviction, that a great deal of improvement in the Government Code is necessary, and I am grateful for the kind permission I have received to state my convictions in the pages of this *Review*.

The January number contained my first article on the subject, the object of which was to show how the existing expenditure in the maintenance of institutions for European education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal might be so directed as to “secure the best results.” This little effort of mine in a great cause has called forth a review from Mr. L. W. D'Cruz. It is not my purpose to review in return. I wish only to draw attention more clearly to some important points in the subject, which he has passed over, and to correct certain of his references to, and quotations from, my article which are somewhat faulty.

The Code under review has to do with schools where the work is done by the medium of European languages and on European lines of thought, and it has been felt to be a hardship in such schools that they are not allowed to draw grants for some of their best pupils who happen not to come under the Government definition of European, although they are more used to “European habits and modes of life” than hundreds of others who differ in no noticeable way, besides hats and body-drawers, from the mass of natives around them. For expressing this opinion my reviewer charges me with including Armenians, Greeks, and Burmese under the



category of Europeans. But those who read my article will remember that I spoke of such Armenians, Greeks, and Burmese—and I might have mentioned many others—as well as *natives*, “who have *cast off* their national characteristics and *are distinctly European in their habits and modes of life.*” The statement of my reviewer’s, that “European parents are averse from their children being brought into contact with others who differ widely from them not merely in language, mode of thought, and habits of life, but also in religion, for while they have nothing to gain by such fellowship they have much to lose,” will be found to be quite in harmony with the tenor of my previous writing. I propose that our schools should receive grants for those who *do not* differ widely from our children in language, mode of thought, and habits of life, nor in religion. The Burmese whom my reviewer exults over cannot be said to have “a common religion, a common language, and a common home” with ourselves. Since the Code has again been taken in hand for revision, I hope this matter will receive due consideration.

That the Bengal Code is scarcely different from the English Code for board schools will be clear to any one who will but take the trouble to compare the arrangement of the studies appointed for the different standards, especially in the primary school department. The arithmetic curriculum is identically the same in the first three standards of that department, and those who read English educational literature know, that the ablest judges have declared the insistance of numeration in these standards to be one of the greatest blemishes in the English Code. It can be no less so in the Indian, and three years spent in trying to teach numeration in these standards made me abandon the attempt before the Bengal Code was thought of; yet my reviewer says that to him “it is painful to see the writer stumbling on Standard I., and treating it as if that was intended in the Code to be the starting point for young children. It is clear that the Code contemplates that Standard I. shall ordinarily not be reached till a child is seven years of age, so as to be fit for examination a year after.” He means, of course, that by the time a child is seven years old and reaches the first standard, his mind is quite developed enough to grasp the meaning of local value, and that palpable methods are not needed to teach him to calculate. We have his bare assertion for it. He attaches no value to the authorities I quote in my article.

In the great majority of Bengal European schools, moreover, there is scarcely a call for such a thing as an infant school or department, of the kind existing in England. *One* infant class is as much as will ever fill sufficiently to pay a teacher, and very

often not even that. The average school-entering age in India *is seven*, and to try to teach "units, ten, hundreds" and all the rest of it to children of that age, children who *have passed* through an infant class or school, or *have had* their infant school training at home, has been found by actual trial to be treating them to "a jingling noise of sounds unknown,"—not only criminally waste their time, but clouds their perception and gives them a distaste for calculation; and although little fellows have been known to work themselves into the ring of their masters' numeration, the result in after years shows that that in no way contributed to make their arithmetical perception at all clearer, and on the great majority of children the incantation-like process has a decidedly deterrent and detrimental effect. This my reviewer does not attempt to answer, but falls prostrate before the majesty of "the framers of the Code." But what becomes of that majesty when the very Code they framed is being cut and clipped, shaped and re-shaped every year by those who think they know better? Shaping and re-shaping, however, are the best treatment a Code, or anything else that deals with methods can undergo, provided it be done judiciously, and one of the most necessary re-shapings in the English Code and in the Bengal one is the omission of numeration from the curriculum of the first three standards.

An important change already made in the original Code of the "framers" is the substitution of algebra for Euclid in the fifth standard. It has been acknowledged in all hands that algebra has been wisely introduced earlier than as at first enjoined. But the postponement of Euclid has been widely condemned and has led to difficulties in the subsequent studies of pupils, as will be shown later on. When carefully taught geometry is very attractive to boys and no less so to girls. I have found very young children take the deepest interest in conversations about circles, triangles, and squares, and if the fourth standard, though not subjected to examination in this subject, were to be familiarised with geometrical forms and their names in the course of conversational lessons, the fifth standard would be found to work Euclid along with algebra without any undue pressure. I have myself tried the experiment, and have found the plan succeed admirably. Indeed, the upper half-dozen of the fifth standard class in which the method was tried were anxious to be allowed to go on to the end of the first book. The whole of the rest of the class worked, and enjoyed the working of, the first twenty-six propositions.

The history work of the Code is very unskilfully arranged, being begun at the wrong end. Children are given quite a wrong idea of the sequence of events in the world's history by

beginning with Caractacus, and Arthur, and Vortigern. They should begin with their own times and go dynasty by dynasty, or better still, reign by reign back to the earlier days. Nineteenths of the belief in the dryness of history is due to this wrong beginning. It is not possible, however, to teach history in this way earlier than the fifth standard.

In the fourth standard, as enjoined in the Code, and even in the third, a book of historical tales should be read to familiarise the young mind to the fact, that great things were done and great men and women did live long ago. They will thus be prepared and eager for a chronological arrangement of these facts. Care should be taken, though, to see that the book appointed is not merely used as an *English reader* (for *this* is all that the Code provides), but that the children are taught to remember the characters and incidents studied.

By such a careful re-arrangement of subjects for the various standards a great deal of time might be saved. There would be only six standards in place of seven, and the sixth would serve very well as a Preparatory Entrance Class. The seventh standard might include an Entrance Class, and the Entrance Examination, as far as it goes, be taken as the test of the seventh standard. My reviewer says : "The Entrance Examination of the University was never intended to be a final standard, yet hitherto it has been adopted as such by the majority of pupils, who have attended our schools because they have had no alternative. It does not provide anything like a training such as every intelligent young man should have in entering the world. The curriculum includes the mere rudiments of school work, without touching upon such subjects as the physical sciences, drawing, music, botany, &c., for the simple reason that most of these are required in the higher examinations of the University Course. It is quite evident, therefore, that those who do not intend prosecuting their studies beyond the Entrance Examination cannot gain anything like a fairly general, or as it is called, liberal education by stopping short at that standard." I quite agree with him here, and in my former article I proposed that, "in addition to the work done for the University, chemistry and geometrical drawing should be made compulsory." This would lighten the work of the eighth standard, and go far towards making the work of the Entrance Class more interesting. At the same time it must be clear to every one who will but compare the curriculum and papers of the Entrance Examination and those of the Middle Scholarship Examination, that in English, Latin, history, geography, arithmetic, and algebra, the two are scarcely different from each other. Now it happens that the Entrance Examination is almost a *sine qua non* for admission into several departments of Government and mercantile service, and to find

a way out of the difficulty, JACOBIAN proposes, in the *Englishman* of the 17th May, that the University should cease to examine for matriculation, and should recognise the eighth standard examination of the Code as the matriculation test. This plan would not work at all. The University provides a very high standard in the branches of the eighth standard curriculum, and requires in matriculants indications of only a fair amount of intelligence and mental discipline. Moreover, the European School Code does not suit Native schools, and of course is not meant for them, whereas the University is meant for Natives as well as Europeans. As a matter of fact, the Entrance Examination requires only part of what the *seventh* standard, not the *eighth*, of the Code requires, and therefore the Code should recognise the *Entrance Examination* as far as it goes, and the inspectors should be particular in seeing that the teaching is in accordance with formative principles and not mere book-cramming as it too frequently is. I am very far from wishing to see the Entrance Examination recognised as "a final standard." Its object and name at once prevent any one from so regarding it. But our pupils' and inspectors' time, and the working power of our schools might be economised by preventing a useless repetition of the same work.

The course of study provided by the Code is *not* prescribed "with a view to University degrees," whatever the *Englishman* (see the issue of Friday, April 22, page 5) may think of the matter. So far is this from being the case that, as Mr. D' Cruz shows, the Code "provides a final examination called the 'high' for those who *do not seek* University honours, and makes the curriculum wide enough to allow scope for the study of one or more of those subjects which would at least tend to initiate the beginner in the more agreeable pursuits of intelligent and educated men, and to lead a little beyond the drudgery of the ordinary school room." In fact the curriculum, as I have tried to show, would be the better for a little more widening. The *Englishman* shows a very imperfect acquaintance with the boys and girls he professes to write on behalf of, when he assumes that the curriculum is "intended for boys and girls, the lives of most of whom will be spent entirely outside of intellectual pursuits." It was because "the drudgery of the ordinary classroom" was found to be insufficient for the boys and girls of the domiciled European community of India that the Code was framed at all. We can secure no advantage by lowering its standard and advocating that our children should be drilled for years at reading, writing, and simple arithmetic only. This drilling is necessary, of course; but does the writer not know that good reading cannot be attained without a great deal more than the Code provides? that simple arithmetic is almost

useless without some idea of geometrical figures, of historical sequence, of geographical locality, of algebraical connections, &c., &c., unless he means by simple arithmetic only £ s. d. or *R. a. p.*? He certainly does *not* know that one of the causes that kept the domiciled European community in the background so long was the ignorance that considered, say, Bengal (or even Calcutta) the world, that distrusted all distant parts, and went in for jât-ism as extravagant as that of the natives around. But he as certainly *ought* to know that the domiciled European community is asleep no longer; that it is claiming its proper place in the world; that it is already, on the whole, as well educated as any middle-class society anywhere; that it is striving to educate itself still more; that it encourages the desire to revise the Code in the direction of extension rather than of abridgement, and of economical arrangement rather than reduction in scope; that there are in our schools very many boys and girls who, besides being able to "work equations with two unknown quantities and do deductions from the first book of Euclid," can "write a letter in a natural style and read the *Vicar of Wakefield* with hearty intelligence." The article from which these quotations are made is certainly behind the times, although it finds room in a respectable journal.

The eighth standard is rightly considered the *final* standard of the School Code. But there are three very glaring defects in it. One of these, the omission of Latin, is the only imperfection my reviewer can discover anywhere in the Code. It is indeed a very striking discrepancy to make a modern European language or a vernacular suddenly compulsory in the final standard, when in the earlier standards the majority of schools have been allowed to teach Latin, and that only as a "special" subject. The importance of a vernacular in the middle school has been pointed out, and Latin should certainly be made *at least* alternative to French or German. My reviewer says that he has "reason to hope the next issue of the revised Code will see it in its proper place." All true teachers will rejoice to find his reason good and his hope fulfilled.

In the second place, I would draw attention to the fact that, with the present arrangement of subjects for the various standards, there is too great a rush made in mathematics in the eighth standard. If the suggestions contained in the preceding paragraph be acted upon, however, it will be found possible, not only to do all the work now appointed, but to work elementary statics and dynamics as a compulsory subject, and to carry the Euclid work to the end of the sixth book.

Perhaps the greatest defect of all is the strange way in which the course for girls differs from that for boys. The result of a great deal of controversy in the English magazine seems

to be the general opinion, that no reason exists for keeping girls out of any of the subjects taught to boys. The only subject that admits of a doubt is political economy, and since domestic economy must be taught to girls, it might take the place of the former in their curriculum.

To see that the arrangements directed in the Code are duly carried out in the fifty-seven schools already under Government inspection in Lower Bengal alone, is decidedly more than two men can satisfactorily do, even though they may devote their whole time to true inspection. Yet Government appoints only *one* Inspector and *one* Assistant Inspector, and, as if to make their designations misnomers, places on their shoulders the burden of *examining* each of these schools annually, both orally and in writing. The result is that the examining, though got through as quickly as possible, takes up nearly all their time, and leaves them little opportunity for inspection, properly so called. This I pointed out in my January article; but I have been misunderstood. My reviewer asks, "is it possible that the writer has not read through the Code which he attempts thus to review?" He then marshalls all the paragraphs of the Code in which true inspection is enjoined,—all of which I could have quoted from memory—and finally exclaims: "It is inconceivable how a writer can venture to assert that what does exist and is provided for does not exist and is not provided for, except as the result of an oversight which is itself hardly pardonable in such a case." Should I cry, "Peccavi!" Here is the impeached passage: "The gentlemen who are called Inspector and Assistant Inspector are in reality not Inspectors at all, but examiners. Their time is almost wholly occupied in hurrying from school to school for the annual examinations,\* and scarcely any time is at their disposal for the actual work of inspection. Now the annual examination is the least important part of the concern of a school. The world seems to have gone mad about examinations, and *the* work that schools were originally meant for is lost eight of, namely, the important business of securing to pupils a condition of physical, mental, and moral health. There is no one to go from school to school at all unexpected times, to see that the work of *e-duc-ation* is being conscientiously performed." I have in this passage taken *full* notice of "what does exist and is provided for," and therefore it is that I assert that we have *no* Inspector in the true sense of the word. Visits without notice are indeed ordered, but where are the men who shall pay them? We have been

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\* Fifty-seven schools have to be examined separately, orally, and in writing, in many different standards every year!

told that such visits were actually paid "last year in the case of several schools in Calcutta." Only *several* schools, only *in Calcutta*, were favoured. But there are only 22 schools in all in Calcutta, against 35 in the suburbs and in Mofussil and Hill stations. This surely is not doing the work well. I have no quarrel with the Inspectors themselves. I know them to be earnest, hardworking men; but the task assigned them is more than they can perform. All other questions sink into insignificance before this. In revising the Code, Government could hardly improve the wording of any of the paragraphs dealing with this matter; but it should certainly provide the means as well as the paragraphs for thorough inspection. The Code fails entirely in its object as long as these paragraphs are virtually dead-letter. "Sine pennis volare haud facile est." "If public money," I repeat, "were spent for no other educational purpose than to provide efficient inspection in every conceivable department, I am sure no better expenditure would be possible."

The Inspectors need not conduct the annual examinations at all. There is already an arrangement for examining the highest standards of primary and middle schools for scholarships. These ought to suffice for the annual examination, and the advantage will be three-fold. (1) At present the fourth and the seventh standards are subjected to two examinations, one at the hands of the Inspector and the other at the hands of the "Scholarship examiners," and the former is, in the case of 17 schools, within a month of the latter, while in the case of the others the interval is of various lengths either before or after, and a pupil might win his scholarship before he can be examined or even seen by the Inspector in his then standard. This inconsistency is in itself sufficient to show the superfluity of the Inspector's annual examination of the fourth and the seventh standards. (2) There would be no formal examination of the other standards, the top standard being taken as the representative of each school, primary or middle. To subject children of seven and eight to a formal examination, and goad them to strain their powers by telling them that their promotion depends on their passing, amounts to a cruelty unworthy the times. The efficiency of the first, second, third, fifth, and sixth standards (if the present number of standards be retained) could be secured by frequent visits on the part of the Inspectors, who might sometimes take their turn at the lectern. (3) There would then be *one* examination for all schools, and the test would be a fair one, whereas at present it is very difficult to secure a uniform standard in the questions asked at the different schools. This plan would go very far to minimise many of the evils unavoidable in a system of payment by results.

The examination, again, should not be only a written one. A written examination, of course, is the best test of accuracy, of memory, of the power of composition, of neatness in expression, of precision in thought, and of fulness of knowledge; but, as Mr. J. G. Fitch, author of the well-known "Lectures on Teaching," said before the College of Preceptors in November 1885, "An oral examination, if wisely conducted, furnishes a much truer test of brightness and mental activity, of promptitude, of fluency and command of language, and of the sympathy and interest with which the student has gone about his work. Moreover, it is possible in an oral examination, to shape and adapt successive questions to the previous answers of the student, and to the plan on which he has been taught. A true estimate of the worth and solidity of his knowledge, and of the spirit in which it has been acquired, can best be arrived at by a judicious combination and use of both kinds of test." The advantage of this kind of examination in all subjects is acknowledged in the Code; but here again the Inspectors have not time enough to attend properly to the matter. There is a sort of hurried examination in elocution, and pupils are asked to point out a few places on blank geographical maps; but anything like a thorough oral test in the grammatical structure of sentences, in geography, history, elementary science, &c., as adopted in England and Germany, is out of the question in the case of our hard-worked Inspectors, but could be easily arranged for at the scholarship examinations.

I advocate extension of scope in these examinations in consequence of the changes I have suggested in the ordinary curriculum. My reviewer, of course, objects for a similar reason, especially to the changes in the primary examination. But the Code provides already that the Inspector shall examine in science (or object lessons as it is called in the primary school), and as to history, the primary examination would, of course, be confined to "characters and incidents" as proposed before and now, and not include a knowledge of chronology, for it is *this* that I said a child "should not be taught till it has reached the higher stage of standard V." I invite the special attention of Government to pages 120—122 of the January *Review*, where I have worked this question out.

The object of all reform is to obtain the best results with the least expenditure, and all the alterations suggested above, are for the economy of time and trouble rather than of money, or rather of time and trouble which are equivalent to money. There is, however, one method of economising time and energy in educational circles which cannot be fully dealt with in the course of this article. It is the saving of the precious time of our little ones by helping them



to learn to read through the medium of phonetic spelling. The wider question of a complete reform of English spelling I dealt with in these pages in 1883 and 1884; though the adoption of the reform in India is not possible before its adoption in England. But many experiments have shown that children can be taught to read and write words spelled in the ordinary way much faster and better by being put through phonetic reading books first. Through the efforts of the English Spelling Reform Association, children in England are not any longer tested in spelling in the first two standards, and if this example were followed in Bengal, it might be the first stepping-stone for much advance in this direction. I have not space to say more on this subject, but will only quote the opinions of some of the Vice-presidents of the Association on the subject of English spelling:—

Max Müller, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford:—"The unhistorical, unsystematic, unintelligible, unteachable, but by no means unamendable spelling now current in England . . . can this unsystematic system be allowed to go on for ever? Is every English child, as compared with other children, to be mulcted in two or three years of his life in order to learn it? Are the lower classes to go through school without learning to read and write their own language intelligently? And is the country to pay millions every year for this utter failure of national education? Language is not made for scholars and etymologists; and if the whole race of English etymologists were really to be swept away by the introduction of a spelling reform, I hope they would be the first to rejoice in sacrificing themselves to so good a cause."

Rev. A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford:—"We are sometimes told that to reform our alphabet would be to destroy the etymologies of our words. Ignorance, again, is the cause of so rash a statement. The science of etymology deals with sounds, not with letters, and no true etymology is possible when we do not know the exact way in which words are pronounced. The whole science of comparative philology is based on the assumption that the ancient Hindus and Greeks and Romans and Goths spelled pretty nearly as they pronounced; in other words, were the happy possessors of real alphabets. It lies with ourselves to determine whether we shall be equally happy."

Rev. W. W. Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, author of the great Etymological Dictionary:—"From pure love of etymology, and in the interests of the same, I should like to see our present spelling utterly smashed."

Dr. Murray, Past President of the Philological Society, who is engaged upon the fifteen years' task of editing the great dictionary of the Society :—"The traditional and pseudo-etymological spellings of the last few centuries are the direst foes with which genuine etymology has to contend."

Mr. H. Sweet, M. A., Past President of the Philological Society, and author of the Clarendon Press "Hand-book of Phonetics," &c. :—"It is mainly among the class of self-taught dabblers in philology that etymological spelling has found its supporters. All true philologists and philological bodies have uniformly denounced it as a monstrous absurdity."

The question of boarding schools in the plains is already a closed one. There is no doubt as to the answer ninety-nine out of every hundred men would give if asked: "Had you the desire and the means to send your child to a boarding school, would you select a hill school, or one in the plains?" My reviewer declares that there is an increasing demand for large boarding schools *in the plains*. This is not a statement founded on fact. I know that in the case of free schools, there is very often "not room to hold the number who seek admission into them, not merely as free scholars, but as pay pupils, the latter having to wait in many cases for more than a year from the time of their registration as applicants before they can be taken in," because the fees, when charged at all, are very low, and the advantage is all on one side. But a child is very rarely, if ever, removed from a hill-school to a plain-school when a parent can afford to pay the hill-school fees, whereas several parents every year remove their children from plain-schools and send them to the hills, even at a great sacrifice to themselves, and almost invariably with the satisfaction of seeing them soon in a much improved physical condition.\* "As a matter of fact," says my reviewer, "an attempt was recently made to transfer a portion of one of our local boarding schools to a hill station, but the result was a heavy pecuniary loss and a considerable falling away in the attendance." One reason of the "pecuniary loss" in this attempt was that the scheme was undertaken with the feeling that it was a risk. Other causes are difficult to prove, and it is no business of mine to prove them; but I have the means of proving that there was certainly no "falling away in attendance," while the number on the rolls increased, and many boys who were

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\* One who has managed for years both hill and plain schools, writes to say: "My own opinion regarding the comparative health of boys on the plains and on the hills is very decided, that it is decidedly better on the hills. The change in the physique of boys after a few months of hill climate is great in every case, without exception; in some cases it is simply astonishing."

day-scholars became boarders. This experiment, if it showed anything at all, very distinctly showed the general belief that large boarding schools are better on the hills than on the plains. It is needless, however, to re-open a question that was settled years ago. When I said that Government-aided boarding schools should all be in the hills, I should, perhaps, have made an exception in favour of *free* schools, though even in *their* case the question is one only of funds. If there were no large boarding schools supported in the plains, there would be more money to spend on the hill institutions, and there is no question as to the advantage in the end. Small boarding schools are not much more than families, and since sanitary arrangements can be easily made perfect and supervision easily provided, they need no aid from Government. I have shown in my former article how large boarding schools were called into existence in England and that they are fast losing their popularity because the need for them is passing away. They have played exactly the same part in India; but here they are not unnecessary yet, because there are so many men who have to work where no schools can be opened, and these must send their children to boarding schools far away. They will be all the better pleased to find that they can with the same expenditure give the children the benefit of a hill climate. But educated parents in India are slowly, yet surely, following the example of educated parents in England, in keeping their children *at home* if they are within easy reach of a good day school, for a boarding school, however well conducted, "cannot supply all the advantages that exist in a small and well regulated household."

Yet, why is it that the influence of a good family is better than the influence of a good boarding school? It would take more space than I have at disposal to enter fully into this question; but one or two important points must be mentioned. There is, first of all, more direct and more frequent communion between the elder and the younger members in a home than in a school. The result of this is to make the younger ones less constrained in their manner and more at ease in their language. A home, again, seldom has more than ten children to one adult, and in consequence, if my reviewer's view be right, there ought to be a great deal of "opposition and mistrust." This is not the case though. On the contrary, the freedom of communion, the "close surveillance," the anxious concern so striking in a good family, are just the very things that produce a healthy tone, the junior members getting to respect and trust the seniors, and the happy ways and voices of the little ones making the elder hearts less old and the older thoughts less hard. If, then, we want our boarding schools to have some of these advantages, we must construct them on a similar scale. Despotism is

despotism, and a man who can be a despot over fifty will be five-times as despotic over ten. We do not want five despotic masters in a boarding school instead of one despotic master assumed ; but where one master for fifty boys can "preserve a high standard of morality and good feeling," surely five masters among the same number of boys will be five times as successful. I have had the pleasure of working a large plain school in this way. There were no monitors, no *præpositi*, no pupil-teachers ; there was no spying on the part of the masters, no slyness on the part of boys, and of course nothing bearing the slightest resemblance to "opposition and mistrust." Those who were my colleagues will bear me out when I say that we enjoyed the full confidence and respect of the boys. We had learnt at the outset to

Be to their faults a little blind  
And to their virtues very kind :

and, by personal example and frequent companionship, we succeeded in winning them from many a fault that the rod would not have thrashed out, and monitors would have been unable to suppress. But the authorities saw fit to reduce the number of resident masters, and the good we had done was rapidly undone. Many a monitor has publicly declared his belief in the uselessness of the arrangement that placed him in a thoroughly false position. In Mozley's "Reminiscences" we find him saying, "Having been a monitor in my house most of my time, I can answer for the failure of the system. It was quite powerless to prevent an immense amount of cruelty and worse wickedness. The elder boys did fag. So far the system failed, and so far good was done. But the louts, the brutes, the strong ruffians, fagged too, and that with a wanton cruelty far beyond what would have been possible under legitimate fagging. It really was as if sheep and wolves had been forced into the same fold, under the idea that the sheep would acquire the art of self-defence, and the wolves learn to pity and spare. I have admitted that the spontaneous fermentation of this mass was working towards a cure. But it was by sending away the lambs sorely wounded and the wolves no tamer than they had come." But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations.

At one time, too, the school I speak of was almost closed by a panic. One of the plagues of the plains swept through the neighbourhood, scattered masters and boys in all quarters, and left me alone with only eight boys. The two great lessons to be learnt from my experience in this school are, (1) that a healthy boarding school must be on the hills ; and (2) that a healthy tone can only be secured when the school resembles a home.

For this, of course, we need men of the right stamp, who have proved their worth in the school-room and in the

playground, not in an examination paper. I have dwelt on this point before, and my reviewer is content to let my words stand with regard to boarding-school masters.

But he sees no reason for my objecting to the paragraphs in the Code that require applicants for certificates to have passed University examinations. The passing of such examinations is assumed by him as "evidence that a teacher possesses a certain amount of knowledge." We are told, "the universal practice of admission by examination exists with regard to every other learned profession," and that I seek that teachers whose work mainly concerns the imparting of knowledge, should "be exempted from the necessity of affording any proof that they possess the knowledge themselves which they are expected to give to others." The argument from analogy does not hold. A lawyer is not a lawyer if he does not know law, and his knowledge of law can be tested by written examinations. A medicó is not a medicó if he does not know medicine, and his knowledge of medicine can be tested by written examinations. A theologian is not a theologian if he does not know theology, and his knowledge of theology can be tested by written examinations. A teacher is not a teacher if he does not know teaching; but his knowledge of teaching *cannot* be tested by examinations. He may indeed show in an examination, like the diploma examinations of the London College of Preceptors, that he understands the various stages of mental development, and is acquainted with the written "methods" of other teachers; but even that will not show that he knows how to impart his knowledge, and, further, that is just the sort of examination that teachers applying for certificates in Bengal are *not* expected to pass.

Moreover, as Dr. Kynaston of Cheltenham shows in the *Times* newspaper, "That subtle influence over boys which characterises a good disciplinarian is a quality which cannot be imparted by lectures. We cannot tell how it is acquired." The only real proof that a teacher can give that he has chosen the right profession for himself, is the successful management and tuition of a class. There will be a nameless something in his manner that will show that he is the right man in the right place. Dr. Buchheim, writing to the *Times* a few days after Dr. Kynaston, says: "There is an excellent way of testing the teaching capacity, at least, of a man—by making him explain to a class, in presence of a Commission, certain topics belonging to his special department. This practice, carried on on the principle of 'Hic Rhodus, hic salta,' is frequently, if not generally, resorted to in Germany, and might with advantage be adopted by the English Universities granting diplomas in the science of education." "It is absolutely necessary that the

teacher should give evidence of his qualifications," or rather, as Dr. Buchheim puts it, "of his teaching capacity"; but the only evidence worth taking is the evidence of successful work. It is successful work that shows the born teacher, because the born teacher must succeed in his work. But the only means, virtually, that the Inspector has at present of judging of a teacher's success, is the result of the annual inspection! We all know that the first thing necessary for securing a good result at an examination is to secure good material to operate upon. But if the teacher guides the intelligent, arouses the lazy, interests the apathetic, and educates the dull, he has been successful, he has proved himself worthy of the cloth.

It is not possible to *define* a good teacher. In my former article I tried to describe one, and parts of my description I have repeated here. I will gather up, by way of emphasizing them, the other points in my description of good teachers—"not intellectual machinery for the dealing forth of epitomized knowledge"; "thoughtful men, who are in sympathy with, and earn the respect and affection of, their pupils, while training them to think and act accurately, and succeed in sending into the world enlightened men and useful citizens"; "not mere bookmen, with little or none of the accuracy in observation and ability to feel for, and with, and like their pupils that are the chief factors in the making of a good teacher;" "whose influence on their pupils is healthy;" "who work for the love of the work, not drudge for the sake of the pay." Not one of these is meant to be a *definition*; they are only characteristics singled out for the recognition of the persons described. We all know that the most familiar terms are the most difficult to explain, and, just as a good teacher cannot be found by written examinations, he certainly cannot be hit off by a definition.

But a teacher, however naturally qualified he might be for the work of education at the outset, will gain much from the experience of others who have been long at work, and therefore it is that it seems most advisable to substitute an "educational student" system for the present pupil-teacher system, which my reviewer seems to have found useful somewhere, but which six Principals of my acquaintance have strongly condemned, and which the Easter Conference of the National Union of Elementary Teachers held at Portsmouth indicates to be doomed in England. The *Educational Times* reporting the meeting remarks, "The whole matter may just as well be decided as other cases of the demand and supply of education are decided, and there will be no need of a pupil-teacher system at all." We might, instead, have in our large educational establishments, a certain number of teachership apprentices. It is the opinion of many practical

men, that anything like a technical education given in a school is of no commercial value whatever, and that the only way to make a boy a printer or a dyer is to enter him in a large printing or dyeing concern as an apprentice. I believe that they are right. The education in our schools should take into consideration the intellectual needs and not the after-life of a pupil. After his mind has received a proper amount of development, he might follow his bent in selecting a calling, and seek special education in the branch he selects in the only place where he can get it, and that is in a thriving concern. If he would be a teacher he should join a teaching establishment, and closely attend to the directions of a veteran, noting carefully how the veteran himself applies the principles he lays down, and after a while practising the principles himself under the superintendence of his chief, who should point out his failures, encourage his efforts, and save him from wrong conclusions that will injure his pupils and spoil the work of his life. A training college, pure and simple, affords no means for the practice that is so necessary for perfection, and it is worse than a mistake to maintain schools solely for the purpose of trying "prentice hands." When an apprentice has gained enough information and experience in what Americans aptly call "practical pedagogics" to be entrusted with the sole management of a class, he should come under the close attention of the Inspectors at their visits, all unannounced, and if his work is found to be satisfactory, he should receive a certificate of *efficiency*. Thus in a short time, without lavish expenditure, good educators would be secured, and the work of our schools would be more successful than at present.

G. S. GASPER.

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## ART. IX.—COMPARATIVE PENAL LAW.

IT is not my intention in these articles to attempt anything approaching to an exhaustive review of Comparative Penal Law, a subject which would require several volumes, but to note the differences in the laws of various countries on certain matters of great interest, not only to lawyers and jurists, but also to the general public; to seize and discuss all salient features of contrast, and in particular to point out in what respects the English differs from the Indian law, which appears to be more in accord with the most advanced doctrines of modern criminalists, and in what points either or both may, with advantage to the community, be amended or ameliorated. It is impossible to discuss such subjects in an adequate manner without exercising the faculty of criticism; but approval or disapproval in any particular case is intended to be abstract rather than concrete; approval or the reverse of some particular law, system or practice, rather than of the individuals whose duty it is to administer the same. At the same time it has never been maintained that the decisions of the highest courts, whether English, American, Continental, or Indian, are not open to fair criticism. I trust it may not be considered presumptuous in me, if I venture to think that a study of Comparative Penal Law\* has put into my hands the necessary materials for practical discussion, and for making some suggestions which may be considered useful by English as well as by Indian statesmen and legislators.\* I approach the subject purely *more academico*, and with the most sincere desire to avoid anything that may savour of acrimonious or polemical controversy.

### *Punishments and Consequences of Conviction.*

There are one or two punishments in vogue in Continental countries, which are said to have an extremely salutary affect, and the English Legislature would do well to consider whether

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\* I was informed by a well-known lawyer in England, that English barristers are almost to a man ignorant of any system of law but their own, and that even elementary information about the Laws of India or other countries need not be avoided in any discussion concerning them. I have gone through the Criminal Codes of France, Belgium, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Holland, China, New York, Louisiana and Italy, &c. I found it quite impossible to procure the books I required in London, and, by the advice of Sir Henry Maine, I applied to the Ministry of Justice in Paris, which comprises a special department for the translation into French of foreign Codes and works on foreign Law. I am deeply indebted to the kindness and courtesy of the President of the Committee of Foreign Legislation, who has procured for me the books I required. The works on Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese Law had to be obtained from St. Petersburg, Madrid, and Lisbon respectively, and I have not had time to utilise them (with the exception of a portion of a Commentary on the Penal Code of Russia) in the preparation of these articles.



they might not be incorporated in the English Criminal Law. These are political or civic degradation, deprivation of office, and what may be termed publicity of judgment. In Germany,\* a sentence of reclusion deprives the person sentenced of the right to serve in the army or navy, or to exercise any public functions, the offices of advocate, attorney, notary, juror, and alderman, among others, being considered as public. Such a sentence (as well as any sentence of imprisonment exceeding three months) may also carry with it deprivation of all civil rights. Civic degradation is in some respects a comprehensive punishment, and far-reaching in its results. In the French and Belgian† Penal Codes, it is defined as (1) exclusion of the condemned from all public offices: (2) deprivation of the right to vote, to wear any decoration, and generally of all civic and political rights: (3) incapacity to be sworn as an expert, to witness documents, or to depose in a Court of Justice except for the purpose of giving simple information: (4) incapacity to be tutor, curator, &c.: (5) deprivation of the right to carry arms, to belong to the national guard, to serve in the French arms, to keep or be employed in any school.

In France civic degradation is a necessary corollary of a conviction for a crime (as opposed to a delict); in Russia and Germany such punishment is left to the discretion of the Court. Again, civic degradation in Russia does not, as in France and Germany, entail a disability to carry arms or to serve in the national army; † but the consequences of condemnation to imprisonment with hard labour are very severe, including, as they do, loss of certain family rights, loss of property, (which at once passes to the heirs) and after release, compulsory residence in Siberia. But there is one point in which European countries might well imitate the Russian Code, namely, in permitting the husband or wife of such condemned person to procure a divorce from the ecclesiastical authorities. ||

The Dutch Penal Code § deprives also of the right to exercise certain professions. The deprivation of rights is for life, when the imprisonment is for life; in other cases, it may be imposed for any term from two to five years. The Hungarian Penal Code || contains some elaborate provisions regarding this form of punishment. Deprivation of employment and suspension

\* German Penal Code, 31, 32. † French Penal Code, 34; Belgian Penal Code 31.

† There may be special regulations of which I have no knowledge; nothing is said of such disability in the Penal Code.

‡ Russian Penal Code, 27. If the wife or husband follows the convict to the place of exile, no divorce can be demanded, unless the latter commits a fresh offence entailing loss of family rights.

§ Code Penal des Pays-Bas, (3rd March, 1881) Art. 28.

|| Hungarian Penal Code of Crimes and Delicts, 1878. This Code is considered, in many respects as a model Penal Code, and has been translated into French, by order of the French Government, and printed at the National Press, Paris, 1885.

of the exercise of political rights may be imposed as additional punishments in any case in which the principal punishment is imprisonment or detention in a state prison for six months or more: the court decides the duration of the incapacity, which may be from one to three years in the case of delicts, and from three to ten years in the case of crimes. Such a sentence deprives of all public offices, duties, salaries and pensions, and takes away the right to vote, to serve as a juror, to be an advocate, public notary, public teacher or guardian; moreover, the condemned person loses any public non-hereditary titles, national dignities or orders, and the right to wear any decoration of honour.\* Art. 291 of the same Code enacts that when any person has caused the death of another by inexperience or negligence in his profession or occupation, or by non-observance of the rules relating thereto, the Court may prohibit him from exercising such profession or occupation altogether, or for a fixed time, as it thinks fit, and may order that any fresh authorisation shall depend on a new examination or other proof of the required capacity. Art. 310 enacts a similar provision in cases in which serious bodily harm has been caused by negligence of the kind alluded to. In England the College of Surgeons might take action in cases of criminal or grossly unprofessional conduct; but I believe the only statutory provision regarding deprivation of office as a consequence of conviction is contained in Chapter 23 of 33 and 34 Vict., of which the second section enacts, that a conviction for treason or felony, for which the sentence is death, penal servitude, or imprisonment with hard labour, or exceeding twelve months, determines the tenure of any office under the Crown, or any ecclesiastical benefice, or any office or emolument in any university or other corporation, or any pension or superannuation allowance payable out of the public funds, unless a pardon is received within two months after the conviction, or before the filling up of the office, place, &c., if given at a later period. In England, up till a comparatively recent date, certain forfeitures and other consequences used to follow on a conviction for treason or felony; but they were abolished by Statute 33 and 34 Vict. c. 23, s. 1, passed in the year 1870.† The New York Code, based for

\* Hungarian P. C., 54-59.

† The opponents of forfeiture argued that such a sentence bore hardly on innocent relations. This objection is partly met in India by the concluding words of Sec. 62 of the Penal Code: "Whenever any person is convicted of an offence punishable with death, the Court may adjudge that all his property, movable and immovable, shall be forfeited to Government; and whenever any person is convicted of any offence, for which he shall be transported, or sentenced to imprisonment for a term of seven years or upwards, the Court may adjudge that the rents and profits of all his movable and immovable estate, during the period of his transportation or imprisonment, shall be forfeited to Government, *subject to such provision for his family and dependants as the Government may think fit to allow during such period.*"

the most part on English law; follows the Continental Codes in including suspension and forfeiture of political or civil rights in the list of punishments. By Art. 757 of the New York Penal Code, imprisonment in a state prison for any term less than life suspends all civil rights, and forfeits all public offices, and all private trusts, authority or power of the person sentenced. Some of the most modern Penal Codes give the courts the power of prohibiting the future exercise of a profession in the case of certain offences, which have been committed by the offender in the exercise of such profession. It may be said that in England, where the standard of professional honour is high, no such provision is called for; but with the higher education of the masses, which enables them to seek employment hitherto closed to them, with keener competition and a general increase in the severity of the struggle for life, the standard of professional, no less than that of commercial honour, has a tendency to fall or at least to suffer, and any provisions, which may prevent or minimize this result, can hardly be said to be unnecessary.

The incapacity to testify as a witness used to follow as a consequence of a conviction for treason, felony and all those misdemeanours known by the term *crimen falsi*! \* For this latter class of offences it might be advisable to retain such incapacity, but it is the better opinion that it is safer to allow the courts to hear and consider the evidence *quantum valeat*. In some of the American states the disqualification to testify still exists, if the witness is objected to; in others, the evidence is admitted. It would be very dangerous to make a rigid rule forbidding the courts to hear such evidence, for the excluded person might possibly be the sole witness in a case of murder or some other heinous offence. Article 43 of the Russian Penal Code gets over the difficulty by including in the consequences of deprivation of rights, a disability to testify in a court of justice or in extra-judicial proceedings, *except in cases in which the evidence is absolutely indispensable*. The French and Belgian Codes allow such persons to depose only for the purpose of giving simple information.

The Italian Code contains two moderate punishments, known as *confinement* and *l'exil local*, the principle of which appears to be suitable to India and Ireland, if not to England also. By these punishments the convicted person is directed to live in a specified place, or in any place he pleases, provided that in either case the commune selected be not less than a certain distance from the commune where the offence was committed, or where the complainant and witnesses live. The

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\* Forgery, perjury, subornation of perjury, suppression of testimony by bribery, intimidation of witnesses, barratry, &c., Greenleaf, Evid., 1, 373.

object of these provisions is to prevent released convicts from oppressing, annoying, or in any way taking vengeance on the complainant, witnesses or jurors. In India fear of such ulterior annoyance or oppression often prevents witnesses from coming forward to depose against any influential man or dangerous character. It appears from the *Mirror*\* that a punishment analogous to *lex talionis* must have existed in England at least as late as the time of Edward II: "Inferior punishments, not capital, were these: mending the highways, causeways and bridges, setting in the pillory and stocks, abjuration of the realm, exile, banishment, either from the kingdom or some particular town, by prohibiting the entering into or going out of such a place, &c."

As the civilization of a country advances, punishments of a peculiar, cruel, disgraceful or retaliatory character have a tendency to disappear from its criminal laws. The laws of the Anglo-Saxon period were disfigured by the infliction of barbarous penalties, such as cutting off the feet or hands, the nose, ear, or upper lip, and even scalping †! In Bracton's time, the punishment for rape was on the *membram pro membro* principle. ‡ Those guilty of arson were to be burnt, that they might suffer in the same manner in which they had offended. Fleta and Britton state that the punishment was death, if a person stole the value of twelve pence or more. In petty larcenies, as for stealing sheaves of corn in August, or pigeons or poultry, if the thing stolen was under the value of twelve pence, the offender was to be put in the pillory for an hour, and to be disabled from taking the oath of a juror, or being a witness. If the offender was a person of bad character, or offended out of mere malice, and not through want, (which was an extenuation, if not even a justification, adopted from the canon law), then he was to lose one ear and become infamous. For a second offence the justices might sentence him to death or to lose his other ear; for the third offence, great or small, death had to be inflicted § From the *Mirror* || it appears that arson, rape, murder, robbery, larceny above twelve pence, and burglary in cases not notorious, were all punished with hanging, while sodomites were buried alive. But the barbarity or severity of our forefathers is of little

\* *Mirror*, ch. iv, s. 17.

† Laws of Canute, chap. 30. According to the *Mirror*, the sentences inflicted by Alfred were extremely severe. The reference to the laws of Canute is obtained from Reeves' Hist. of English Crim. Law, i, 27, note.

‡ "Corruptor puniatur in eo in quo deliquit; oculos igitur amittat, propter aspectum decoris, quo virginem concupivit; amittat et testiculos, qui calorem stupri induxerunt." Bract. 147 b. See Reeves, i, 481.

§ Wingate's Britt. p. 24. Reeves, i, 168.

|| *Mirror*, chap. iv, 10, 15. Reeves, i, 225.

practical interest in a consideration of the nature of punishments suitable for a civilized European country in this penultimate decade of the nineteenth century. But though cruel and vindictive punishments have almost entirely disappeared, it is advisable, in the opinion of many criminalists, to retain for certain offences punishments of a peculiar or of a more or less disgraceful character. The pillory and stocks, whipping, ducking,\* and slitting nostrils are all common-law punishments. Of these whipping only still remains, but not in the case of females. It is stated in the last edition of Harris's Criminal Law,† that a female can *never* be whipped. I believe this is erroneous. It is a peculiar fact that a female can still be whipped for attempts to alarm the Queen, throwing missiles at her, &c.‡. In Denmark § the only females who can be whipped are girls from ten to twelve years of age. In France and Germany corporal punishment has been abolished, and M. Ernest Lehr states that this is so in Russia also, even the traditional punishment of the knout having been discontinued. || In the United States whipping was abolished by Act of Congress in 1839. Such punishments, then, as whipping, the pillory, and the stocks having been generally abolished on the ground of inhumanity, it was necessary to devise some means of inflicting some additional mark of disgrace or humiliation compatible with the humanity of the nineteenth century. Continental legislators have hit on the device of publishing the judgment in some conspicuous way. The *amende honorable* and public reprimand used to be punishments in Russia for laymen as well as ecclesiastics; they are still used in the case of the latter as measures of discipline. In France and Belgium, ¶ in certain cases, extracts from the judgment may be posted up in the chief town of the department in which the case is tried, in the commune in which the crime is committed, and in that where the condemned person lives. Generally speaking, all Continental Codes contain

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\* Ducking was the common law punishment of a common scold, the offender being "placed in a certain engine of correction called the trebucket, castigatory, or cucking stool, which in the Saxon language is said to signify the scolding-stool; though now it is frequently corrupted into *ducking*-stool, because the residue of the judgment is that, when she is so placed therein, she shall be plunged in the water for her punishment." Bl. Com. iv, 169.

† Harris' Principles of the Criminal Law, 4th Ed. by A. Agabeg, p. 491.

‡ 5 and 6 Vict. chap. 51.

§ Danish Penal Code, Art. 29.

|| It appears that corporal punishment is still inflicted in Russia on those not exempted from it, when a sentence of imprisonment cannot be carried out owing to the prisons being too full. So many days or months of imprisonment are converted into so many blows according to a regular scale of commutation. In China all punishments of blows may be redeemed by the payment of a fine.

¶ French B. C., 36; Belgian P. C., 18.

provisions by which the court may, in certain cases order that the judgment be published in whole or in part in such newspapers as it may direct. The offences, on a conviction for which such publication may be ordered, are generally offences involving some peculiar fraud or danger to the public, *e. g.* fraudulent bankruptcy, misappropriation by guardians, trustees, administrators, executors, directors of companies, selling commodities dangerous to life or health. It would be well if the courts in England had the power to direct publication of the judgment in cases of perjury, defamatory libel, aggravated extortion, sending threatening letters, and also on second convictions for adulteration of provisions, counterfeiting trade marks, indecent assault, and obtaining money by false pretences.

An examination of the various sorts of imprisonment and detention and prison regulations in vogue on the Continent and in America for the purposes of comparison with England, would be both instructive and useful ; but such a subject perhaps belongs more properly to a Prison Code than to a Penal Code. There is, however, one subject on which a word should be said, and that is the subject of enhanced punishment on re-conviction for certain offences.

#### *La Récidive.*

The question of recidivism has received much attention from continental jurists and criminalists, and they have placed a very salutary restriction on the power to inflict enhanced punishment. In France and Belgium an offender is not considered a recidivist, if more than three years have elapsed since his release from prison ; in Holland\* a lapse of five years, and in Denmark† and Hungary‡ of ten years from such date prevents the infliction of any enhanced punishment. But in England it would seem that the enhanced punishment must be inflicted, no matter how great the lapse of time since the previous conviction, or rather the offender's release from prison. Under 24 and 25 Vict. c. 96, s. 7, the punishment for simple larceny, after previous conviction for felony, is penal servitude from five to ten years, or imprisonment not exceeding two years. Under sec. 8 of the same statute, the punishment is penal servitude from five to seven years, or imprisonment as above, for simple larceny or any offence made punishable as simple larceny by the Larceny Act after previous conviction for any indictable misdemeanour under the Larceny Act. For uttering, &c., counterfeit coin, after previous conviction for such crime, or previous conviction for a felony against a Coinage Act the punishment is penal servitude for life, or for not less than five years, or imprisonment not exceed-

\* Dutch Penal Code, 421—423.

† Danish Penal Code, 61.

‡ Hungarian P. C. 338, 349, 371, &c.

ing two years. \* The Indian Penal Code is marked by a similar defect, namely, that lapse of time does not prevent enhanced punishment, and instances are not uncommon in which offenders convicted of theft are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, though years may have elapsed since their previous conviction. But in India the court is not *bound* to inflict a heavier punishment on an offender convicted for the second time. Sec. 75 of the Penal Code is as follows :—"Whoever, having been convicted of an offence punishable under Chap. XII. or Chap. XVII.† of this Code, with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, shall be guilty of any offence punishable under either of those chapters with imprisonment of either description for a term of three years or upwards, *shall be subject* for every such subsequent offence to transportation for life, or to imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years." The words I have placed in italics show that it is not obligatory on the Court to impose enhanced punishment, and it is not the intention of the Legislature that a previous conviction should enormously enhance the heinousness of petty offences.‡ At the same time, though in continental countries the lapse of a certain prescribed period prevents an offender from being punished more severely for a second than for a first offence, the principle of *la récidive* has been extended to a large number of offences. The Russian and French Penal Codes are analogous in this respect. In Russia § recidivism is defined to be "the repetition of the same crime, or perpetration of another crime after a previous conviction." The offender must be sentenced to the maximum of the punishment incurred without prejudice to his liability to a more severe form of punishment (art. 132). So in France an enhanced punishment is incurred *in all cases*, either by prolongation of its duration, or the infliction of a more severe form of punishment. On the other hand, the German Code

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\* 24 and 25 Vict. chap. 29, sec. 12.

† Cap. XII deals with offences relating to coin and Government stamps, Chap. XVII relates to theft, extortion, robbery, dacoity, criminal breach of trust, receiving stolen property, house-breaking, &c.

‡ See 1 Calcutta L. R., 481. I have known of cases in India in which a petty theft of mangoes has been visited with a severe sentence, because the offender had been convicted of theft perhaps seven or eight years before. Mr. Justice Kernan, Judge of the Madras High Court, is reported to have once said to a prisoner, when sentencing him to a long term of imprisonment for theft : "If you are again brought up for stealing the pen-holder which I hold in my hand, I shall have no option but to sentence you to transportation for life." I venture to think the learned judge misinterpreted the section, while he overlooked the maxim "*De minimis non curat lex*," which is embodied in sec. 95 of the Penal Code : "nothing is an offence by reason that it causes, or is intended to cause, or is known to be likely to cause any harm, if that harm is so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm."

§ Russian Penal Code, 131.

resembles the English law in not regarding recidivism as a general ground for enhanced punishment, but only in the case of certain offences, as for example, theft, fraud, concealment of stolen property.\* In England and India the principle, speaking broadly, is applied only to cases of larceny and offences relating to coin. In Hungary the principle is applied only on a *third* conviction for certain specified crimes and delicts,† but on a second conviction in the case of contraventions.‡ As has been remarked above, the lapse of ten years in the former case excludes the application of the principle, whereas in the latter case the lapse of two years *only* does so. In Holland these periods are respectively five years and one year. In England and India, though the number of offences for which enhanced punishment may be inflicted is comparatively small, yet the amount of enhancement is very large, whereas on the Continent the punishment can only be enhanced by periods varying under different codes from one-fourth to one-half of the maximum imprisonment for a first offence. The attention of English and Indian statesmen should be drawn to this striking difference. In concluding this subject I may note one instance in which a second conviction for any offence in England entails very severe consequences, far harsher, in my opinion, than the necessity of the case calls for. Persons sentenced to penal servitude can earn certain periods of remission; they are on ticket-of-leave during these periods, and if they commit any further offence, they are sent back to prison to serve out the unexpired portion of their sentences. During a late stay in England, I visited most of the convict prisons with the permission of the Home Secretary. It struck me that persons were sent back to prison for petty offences which should not have entailed any consequences beyond the punishment inflicted by the Justice for the particular act. The Governor of one of the prisons told me that a woman who had earned a year's remission was sent back, *in consequence of a conviction for drunkenness*, to serve out the unexpired term! It can hardly be alleged that the public interests called for so severe a measure.

*Circumstances for consideration in awarding punishment.*

Nearly all criminalists are agreed that *minima* punishments should be abolished, and that the law should merely fix the

\* Germ. P. C. 244, 250, 255, 261, 264.

† Hung. P. C. (Crimes and delicts) 338, 349, 371, 381. These offences are theft, robbery, concealment of stolen property, and cheating.

‡ Hung. P. C. (Contraventions) 67, 79, 85, 89, 92, &c. Contraventions are for the most part petty police and sanitary offences. The following are some of the contraventions, a second conviction for which entails enhanced punishment: false weights and measures, begging, gambling, illegal practice of medicine, infraction of sanitary rules, &c.



maximum. To enact that a man shall not get less than a certain period of imprisonment is to fetter judicial discretion too much. Still it is open to question whether, in India and England, almost too much latitude is not given to judicial officers as regards the amount of punishment to be inflicted. Some codes attempt to avoid the evil by a more minute definition of the various degrees of heinousness or of aggravating circumstances. If every magistrate and judge had sound judgment and common sense, the rule of boundless discretion is no doubt the best; but the extraordinary differences in the punishments inflicted for the same acts both in England and India at least afford some grounds for thinking that too much latitude is left to the deciding officer.

The Hungarian, Danish, and other Continental codes fix, in many cases *minima* as well as *maxima* periods of imprisonment. The Danish Code \* directs judicial officers, in determining the amount of punishment, to take into especial consideration on the one hand, the more or less dangerous character of the offence, particularly with regard to the time, place, and mode of execution, the importance of the object, the extent and amount of injury, and, on the other hand, the greater or less energy and determination shown by the accused, the motives of his act, his education, age and antecedents, his relation to the victim, and his conduct after the offence. The Hungarian Code † enacts that if aggravating circumstances preponderate in number and importance, the punishment will be the maximum or *something* near the maximum; in the converse case, it will be the minimum or something near the minimum. The inconvenience of fixing any minimum is evident from art. 92, which enacts, that if mitigating circumstances preponderate to such an extent that even the minimum punishment would be disproportionately severe, a smaller sentence may be inflicted, or even the punishment which is next inferior in degree. Art. 94 enacts that the duration of a long *détention préventive* (hajut) must be taken into consideration, whether in awarding fine or imprisonment. I fancy few magistrates in India need any such direction as this.

The Russian Penal Code ‡ contains some very detailed directions regarding aggravating and extenuating circumstances. Culpability and punishment are enhanced by (1) the long premeditation of the offender: (2) his social position, profession, and degree of culture: (3) the illegality or immorality of his motives: (4) the number of persons with whom he acted: (5) his efforts to get rid of all obstacles:

\* Danish P.C., 57.

† Hungarian P.C., 90, 91.

‡ Russian P.C. 129, 130, 134.

(6) the personal duties which he has trampled under foot : (7) the cruelty, indignity, or immorality of the acts with which the offence was prepared, accomplished, or accompanied : (8) the danger which the offence caused to one or more persons, or to society in general : (9) the evil or injury which has resulted : (10) the dissimulation or *obstinacy of denial* which he has shown during his trial, especially if he has sought to implicate innocent persons. In all these cases the judge can not only inflict the maximum, but he may even impose a more severe kind of punishment. The following circumstances are considered to lessen the culpability, and mitigate the punishment : (1) the fact that the offender, before he has become the object of suspicion, has given himself up, and sincerely confessed his crime with expressions of repentance : (2) the fact that, even after he is suspected *he has confessed* at the preliminary investigation : (3) true information concerning his accomplices : (4) the commission of the offence through levity, weakness of intellect, or a want of intelligence which has been abused by others : (5) strong provocation caused by insults or injuries inflicted by his victim : (6) the fact that he has been incited to the crime by the entreaties orders, or bad example of his parents or others having legal authority over him : (7) the influence of overwhelming need, and want of all resource and means of work : (8) the fact of remorse or pity for the victims, during the commission of the offence, and his abstention from doing all the harm intended, and above all preventing his accomplices from doing so : (9) the fact that, after the crime, he has tried to avert the evil consequence, to repair the harm done, or to restore any gain. In these cases the minimum punishment, or even one of a lower degree may be imposed. The Louisiana Code of Criminal Procedure \* also contains some useful rules. Circumstances to be considered in alleviation are (1) the minority of the offender : (2) his old age : (3) his condition, *e. g.*, wife, apprentice : (4) the order of a superior military officer : (5) the fact that the offence was committed under a combination of circumstances, and under the influence of motives which will probably not recur either with respect to the offender or to any other : (6) the fact that the offence was caused by great provocation : (7) the state of health and the sex of the delinquent must be considered in the nature and duration of the punishment the following are to be considered as circumstances of aggravation : (1) if the person committing the offence was, by his office or condition, obliged to prevent it : (2) if he held any other public office : (3) if his education, *fortune* and profession

\* Louisiana, C.P.C. 431-435.

placed him in a situation in which his example would probably influence the conduct of others : (4) when the offence was committed with premeditation : (5) or in consequence of a plan formed with others : (6) when the defendant endeavoured to induce others to join in committing the offence : (7) when a trust was broken, or such trust afforded easier means of committing the offence : (8) when in the commission of the offence, any other injury was offered than that necessarily suffered by the offence itself ; such as wanton cruelty, or humiliating language, in cases of personal injury : (9) when it was attended with the breach of any other moral duty than that necessarily broken in committing the offence ; such as personal injury accompanied by ingratitude : (10) when the injury was offered to one whose age, sex, office, conduct, or condition entitled him to respect from the offender : (11) when the injury was offered to one whose age, sex, or infirmity rendered him incapable of resistance : (12) when the general character of the defendant is marked by those passions or vices which lead to the commission of the offences of which he has been convicted.

It is hardly necessary that a modern code should elaborately detail all grounds of extenuation and aggravation : but it cannot be denied that indications, such as the above, are calculated to be extremely useful to judicial officers, and tend to a greater uniformity of punishment.

Lastly, as regards the number of different sorts of punishment, they are without doubt too numerous in some Continental Codes. But in one respect they are too few both in England and India. A magistrate in India thinks that a sentence of imprisonment is necessary, but not one of rigorous imprisonment. All he can do is to inflict simple imprisonment, which to an educated man is almost worse, as he is compulsorily idle. Moreover he is kept in the same jail-yard as the worst offenders. This is perhaps rather hard on educated native gentlemen sentenced for comparatively trivial offences. In Hungary there are four sorts of imprisonment, *la maison de force*, *la prison d'état*, *la reclusion*, and *la prison*. Other codes have *la détention*. In some cases imprisoned persons can have their own food brought in at their own expense : in others they can choose any form of work they like. Then there are considerable variations in the rules of management and discipline. In Bengal there is one set of rules for all prisoners, including those imprisoned in default of payment of fine. In England, again, the proportion of prisoners, who are given the privilege of being treated as first-class misdemeanants, is infinitesimal ; but this exceptional treatment is accorded in some American States to all those who are sentenced to simple imprisonment. Art. 92 of the Louisiana Penal Code enacts that " simple imprisonment

consists simply in the confinement of the person within the walls of the prison, the prisoner being debarred neither the use of books, nor the means of writing, nor the society of such persons as may desire to see him during the hours established by the general regulations for the prison." There can be no doubt that both in England and India some intermediate sort of imprisonment is required, under which a prisoner might be allowed certain privileges, such as a better diet at his own expense, more frequent visits from friends, and the use of his books, artisan's tools, &c. At the same time, I should point out that the so-called hard labour in some Indian jails is not hard labour at all: what struck me most in going over some of the convict prisons in England was, the tremendous severity of discipline, work, and general régime as compared with any of the Indian jails with which I am acquainted.

### CRIMINAL LIABILITY.

#### *Ignorance of law no defence.*

The maxim *ignorantia juris non excusat* is derived from the Roman jurisprudence, and it appears to me that it has been too readily and blindly accepted, or at least pushed too far, by English lawyers. The rule, it is true, is based on considerations of public policy, but there may be cases in which those very considerations should exclude its too rigid application. The rule often works harshly when applied to acts which are merely *mala prohibita*. It has even been ruled \* that a foreigner charged in England with an offence committed there cannot excuse himself on the ground that he did not know he was doing wrong, the act not being an offence in his own country. But, as pointed out in article 33, Stephen's Digest (Crimes and Punishments), ignorance of the law is relevant to the question whether an act which would be a crime, if accompanied by a certain intention or other state of mind, and not otherwise, was in fact accompanied by that intention or state of mind or not. Thus it is an adequate defence for a man charged with larceny to show that, through a misapprehension of law, he honestly believed the property to be his † The distinction may be briefly stated as follows: ignorance of the law, which prevents a man from entertaining the intent necessary for a criminal act, will excuse him; but ignorance that the law punishes a certain act is no excuse. The provision on the point in the Hungarian Penal Code ‡ is that ignorance, or a *wrong interpretation* of the law, does not exclude criminal liability. The Danish Penal Code § enacts that punishment

\* *R. v. Esop*, 7 C. and P., 456.

† *R. v. Hall*, 3 Car. and P., 409.

‡ Hung. P. C. 81.

§ Danish P. C., 42.

is not excluded by ignorance of the law, by a false opinion that an act forbidden by the law is permitted or even commanded by the conscience or religion, or conversely, that an act commanded by the law is not permitted, on similar grounds, or even by the nature of the offender's motives or object. The case of *R. v. Wagstaffe* (10 Cox, C. C., 530) appears to present a mixed question of law and fact. The defendants belonged to a sect calling themselves "Peculiar People," and were charged with manslaughter, as they had neglected to provide medical aid for a sick child. They considered it wrong and useless to send for a physician, as showing no faith in Providence. Willes, J., not believing in the doctrines of these people, still thought that "this was a case where affectionate parents had done what they thought best for the child, and had given it the best of food," and the jury acquitted them. In consequence of this acquittal an Act of Parliament (31 and 32 Vict. c. 122, s. 37) was passed making it penal for a parent to neglect to provide food, medical aid, &c. for his child, "whereby the health of such child shall have been, or shall be likely to be, seriously injured." In a subsequent case of the same kind, the Court of Criminal Appeal held that, in consequence of the statute, the indictment could be maintained. Bishop remarks that the language of the judges implies that, but for the statute, there would have been no offence.

There is one point in which the maxim has been pushed to an absurd length, and that is, that every one is supposed to possess knowledge concerning the most recently passed statutes. Formerly every Act took effect from the first day of the session in which it was passed 33 Geo. III. c. 13 enacted that its operation should begin from the day when it received the royal assent. The former fiction of law was carried to such an absurd extent, that a statute passed at a late period of the session actually rendered invalid annuities granted four months before.\* Wilberforce remarks that this decision certainly went beyond the old theory, which was that "as soon as the Parliament hath concluded anything, the law intends that every person hath notice thereof, for the Parliament represents the body of the whole nation."† Both in England and America statutes are operative in every part of the country immediately they take effect. This has led to some extremely harsh and indefensible decisions in criminal cases. In one case a vessel sailed in disobedience of an embargo Act, but so soon after it was passed that it was impossible the master could have known anything about it. It was nevertheless held that he violated the Act without legal excuse! Comment is superfluous. This decision

\* *Luttes v. Holmes*, 4 T. R. 600. See Wilberforce's Statute Law, p. 155.

† 4 Inst. 26.

may accord with the letter of the maxim *nova constitutio futuris formam imponere debet, non præteritis*, but it certainly is antagonistic to its spirit. There are even cases, which it is unnecessary to detail here, in which an act, legal at the time of doing it has been made unlawful by some subsequent enactment. The English legislature should adopt the principle established by the Code Napoléon, namely, that laws take effect from the time when the public may reasonably be supposed to know of their existence, regard being had to the course of the post, the time of publication, and other matters. No change appears to be necessary in India, where the public really are given far greater opportunities than they have in England of acquainting themselves with, and criticising proposed legislative measures. Even after an Act is passed, it cannot come into operation until it has been thrice published in the Gazette, and even so the date of commencement of operation is generally fixed at some three to six months after its passing.

### *Mistake of Fact.*

Ignorance or mistake in point of fact exempts from criminal liability in almost all countries. Bishop says: "To punish a man who has acted from a pure mind, in accordance with the best lights he possessed, because, misled while he was cautious, he honestly supposed the facts to be the reverse of what they were, would restrain neither him nor any other man from doing a wrong in the future; it would inflict on him a grievous injustice, would shock the moral sense of the community, would harden men's hearts, and promote vice instead of virtue." As is remarked by Hale,\* "where there is no will to commit an offence, there can be no transgression." The German Code† enacts that when the doer of an act is ignorant of the existence of circumstances which make it criminal or aggravate its criminality, he is not liable, unless, in the case of negligent or imprudent acts, the ignorance is the result of negligence or imprudence. The French Code contains no analogous provision, but that the doctrine may be applied may be inferred from a number of sections,‡ and, as a matter of fact, it is applied. In Russia,§ accidental error or mistake of fact relieves from responsibility: but in certain cases the Court may impose an ecclesiastical penance.

Under the head of Mistake of Fact, the laws of different countries do not appear to present any salient contrasts; but the case of homicide, committed under a mistake as to facts,

\* Hale, P. C. I, 15.

† German Penal Code, 59.

‡ French Penal Code, 60-63, 83 96, 99, &c.

§ Russian Penal Code, 99.

demands the attention of Indian judges. Bishop lays it down that "if one has *reasonable cause to believe* the existence of facts which will justify a killing, he is legally guiltless of the homicide. . . . It is the doctrine of reason, and sufficiently sustained in adjudication that, notwithstanding some decisions apparently adverse, whenever a man undertakes self-defence, he is justified in acting on the facts as they appear to him. If without fault or carelessness he is misled concerning them, and defends himself correctly according to what he supposes the facts to be, the law will not punish him; though they are in truth otherwise, and he has really no occasion for the extreme measure." A very peculiar case—at least peculiar to those living in European countries—is referred to at length by Bishop. In 1874, an Indian was tried in Washington Territory for the murder of another Indian. The defence was, that he committed the homicide to save his wife from being killed through a pernicious power of the deceased. Evidence was introduced to show that, in the language of Greene, J. in his charge to the jury, "the deceased Doctor Jackson was reputed to be a *musatchee tomaawos* man, a bad doctor man, a sorcerer, a man able at his will to bring unseen evil agencies to bear upon the bodies of the living; that he thus possessed the power of life and death over persons even at a distance from him, and over defendant's wife in particular; that in defendant's presence he threatened, by use of this evil power to destroy the life of defendant's wife; that in the presence of defendant, he professed and claimed that he, by means of this power, caused an actual sickness of defendant's wife, of which she lay dangerously ill at the time of his own death; that in defendant's presence he threatened he would cause this illness to terminate in her death; and that the only means of saving the life of defendant's wife was by killing this man, who claimed to wield over her such subtle and terrible power." It appeared in evidence that the defendant, and with him all his tribe, was born into the belief in *musatchee tomaawos*, and this belief controlled him in the homicide. The learned judge charged the jury, that the law permitted one to kill another to save his wife's life, which the latter was in the act of taking away; and, though they would not themselves credit the deceased with the power attributed to him, yet, if the defendant in good faith did, and this belief was a reasonable one in *him*, considering his education and surroundings, it would furnish him, under the circumstances proved, a good defence. And the jury acquitted him.\* Bishop even goes further and thinks it sufficient if the belief be entertained in good faith. He says: "If the learned judge committed any error in this case, it was in requiring that

\* Territory v. Fisk, Olympia Transcript, April 11th 1874.

the mistaken belief should be a reasonable one for the defendant to entertain." The records of our Courts in Bengal teem with cases in which men have been convicted and even hanged for acts such as the one described above. I am far from saying that this American case should be followed in its entirety in India: to do so might lead to a large increase of murders and crimes of violence, a belief in witchcraft being by no means uncommon in most parts of Bengal.\* But the case is one that affords food for the most serious reflection, as it appears that there are several English cases, as well as a large array of American cases, to the same or a similar effect. It is for the Sessions Judges of Bengal, subject to the direction of the High Court, to consider whether, in these murders of sorcerers, witches, and similar cases, the question should not be put to the jury as to whether the accused was labouring under a mistake of fact, whether he in good faith believed he was exercising the right of private defence, and that he could have in no other manner averted the evil or harm he feared.

### *Accident.*

Homicide by accident or misadventure used in early English law to be punishable by forfeiture of goods and chattels. Coke, Hale, and Blackstone try to explain this away by saying, that though it is but a man's misfortune, yet the king has lost a subject by the accident, and the man who caused the accident ought to have been more careful! Hence he forfeited his goods to the king, in order that in the future he should take greater care. But a statute of George IV † treated these attempts to put the best face on a bad law as valueless, and repealed the law altogether. Still the law of homicide in England is disfigured by a barbarous absurdity, namely, that the accidental commission of homicide, while committing a felony, is murder; and if the act intended was a misdemeanour or actionable wrong, the offence is only reduced to manslaughter. A. shoots at a tame fowl, not with intent to steal it, and accidentally kills a man. This is manslaughter. But if he intended to steal the fowl, then the accidental killing would be murder! ‡ Hobbes shows the absurdity of such a rule by saying, that if a boy, robbing an orchard, by chance falls from

\* In Orissa almost all castes believe that certain men or women have the power to bring illness, disease, and death on them or their children, by making clay images of them and roasting them over a slow fire. Sometimes a *Hari* or *Chamar* midwife gains the reputation of having killed or harmed children by her charms. Such a woman is called a *Dain*, or *Kancha Dance*. I once got a petition under Sec. 500, Penal Code, from a woman, who complained that no one would employ her or speak to her, as some one had given out that she was a witch.

† 24 and 25 Vict. c. 100, s. 7 re-enacting 9, Geo. iv. c. 31, s. 10. \*

‡ Per King, C. J., *R. v. Woodburn*, 16 St. Tr., 80; also *R. v. Hodgson*, 1 Leach 6.



an apple tree, and breaks the neck of a man standing underneath, this is a murder—as if the boy had fallen of malice prepense! Hale says that, if a trespasser's arrow glance from a tree and kill a bystander to whom he intended no hurt, this is manslaughter, as trespass = *malum in se*. But if an unlicensed person shoot at a crow and kill a bystander, this is but chance and no offence, as the want of license is only *malum prohibitum*. This distinction is absurd, and at the present time, somewhat unintelligible, as trespass *per se* is not a criminal offence. The law should be placed on a more logical basis.

No doubt, in taking accident into consideration as a defence, it should be ascertained whether the act done was lawful or unlawful. This is done in India, sec. 80 of the Penal Code enacting that “nothing is an offence which is done by accident or misfortune, and without any criminal intention or knowledge *in the doing of a lawful act in a lawful manner, by lawful means*, and with proper care and caution.” In Russia,\* accident is not a defence if the act was unlawful; and even where the act is lawful, the doer of the act is, in some cases, submitted to an ecclesiastical penance, “in order to calm his conscience.” There is no analogous provision in the French or German Codes; but it must be borne in mind that the continental codes generally give a very clear definition of criminal intention, and the special sections regarding accident are, after all, but the legislative embodiment or amplification of the well-known French maxim “*sans intention, point de délit*.” In Hungary† no act which is not committed voluntarily can be a crime, and the rule also applies to delicts, except where certain acts, resulting from negligence, are declared to be qualified delicts, in the special part of the Code. In France even accidental contraventions are punishable; for instance, a man is punishable for the *fact* of his chimney being on fire, quite apart from accident or even negligence. In Denmark,‡ acts committed from inattention or negligence, are not punishable, unless the law expressly declares otherwise. In England a certain amount of carelessness or negligence is criminal, and supplies the place of the direct criminal intent. Common instances are furious riding or driving, medical practice, use of dangerous things, dangerous machinery, dropping things on roads, care of dangerous animals, &c. These will more fitly be noticed under a different head. It is instructive to notice that under the Chinese Penal Code,§ a code framed by orientals for orientals, accident does not absolve from all punishment but only from the regular punish-

\* Russian P. C. 93.     ..

† Hungarian P. C. 75.     ..

‡ Danish P. C., 43.

§ Chinese P. C., 292.     ..

ment. "All persons who kill or wound others purely by accident shall be permitted to redeem themselves from the punishment of killing or wounding in an affray by the payment in each case of a fine to the family of the person deceased or wounded. By a case of pure accident is understood a case of which no sufficient previous warning could have been given, either directly, by the perceptions of sight and hearing, or indirectly, by the inferences drawn by judgment and reflection." The principle of this provision is some what analogous to that of the Russian Code alluded to above, imposing an ecclesiastical penance. *Grattes la Russe*, &c In one or two other instances the Russian Penal Code seems to be more in accord with oriental than with occidental ideas.

### *Drunkenness.*

According to the Civil law drunkenness aggravated a crime, as may be inferred from the maxims *qui peccat ebrius, luat sobrius* and *ebrietas crimen incendit*, &c. The traces of this severity are to be found in modern criminal law, though the doctrine of aggravation has been rejected. This doctrine, however, died a hard death, and in Beverley's case,\* we find Lord Coke saying: "although he who is drunk is for the time *non compos mentis*, yet this drunkenness does not extenuate his act or offence, nor turn to his avail; but it is a great offence in itself, and therefore *aggravates his offence*, &c." The modern doctrine is that voluntary intoxication furnishes no excuse for crime. The idea that it is wrong to drink has by no means disappeared even at the present day, and it is from this idea that the doctrine has sprung. "When a man voluntarily becomes drunk," says Bishop, "there is the wrongful intent; and if, while too far gone to have any further intent, he does a wrongful act, the intent to drink coalesces with the act done while drunk, and for this combination of act and intent, he is criminally liable," and it was the common law that drunkenness supplied the necessary malice even in cases of homicide.

There are no special provisions as to drunkenness in most of the Continental Criminal Codes; the matter has to be considered in connection with the provisions regarding intent and consciousness. For instance the German Penal Code † speaks of "temporary or chronic malady," and the Hungarian Code ‡ of a "state of unconsciousness, or troubled state of the intellectual faculties." The case-law in France corresponds to

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\* 4 Co. 123b

† Germ. P.C., 51.

‡ Hung. P.C., 76.

the provisions in the Russian Code.\*. This code solves—as follows the complex problem of the influence of drunkenness on culpability. If the drunkenness be involuntary and accidental, there is no offence; if it arises from imprudence recklessness, or from occasional or habitual intemperance, the offender is punishable for having made himself drunk, but he only incurs a *penal* responsibility for his acts in proportion as he was still in possession of his faculties; desired or intentional drunkenness, at the time of accomplishing a premeditated offence, aggravates culpability. As has been remarked, the German Penal Code contains no special section, and cases are decided according to the rule in Article 51, that the doer of an act is not punishable, when, at the time of doing it he was “deprived of knowledge.” Neither do the codes of Denmark and Holland deal with the matter specially.

At the present moment it may be said that there is a considerable divergence between the law or practice regarding drunkenness in England and India, and this is perhaps an illustration of how, in some particulars, a pliant common law is superior to the rigidity and inflexibility of a code. The Indian law makes no excuse whatever, not even as regards the question of intent, for voluntary drunkenness. Sec. 86 is as follows: “In cases where an act done is not an offence, unless done with a particular knowledge or intent, a person who does the act in a state of intoxication shall be liable to be dealt with *as if he had the same knowledge* as he would have had if he had not been intoxicated, unless the thing which intoxicated him was administered to him without his knowledge or against his will.” Some European criminalists (and notably the German jurist Mittermaier) are inclined to view drunkenness more leniently, and English judges have struck out a considerable departure from the doctrine of the common law, which regarded drunkenness as *in lum in se*. In several cases† it has been ruled that a drunken person is scarcely in a state to entertain an intent at all, either malicious or not. It can scarcely be said that a man who is drunk can entertain that kind of malice which is the chief ingredient of the crime of murder, and proceeds from a mind possessed of firmness of purpose. Though, therefore, drunkenness will not be any excuse for crime, yet if in the condition of the prisoner malice cannot be presumed, he can only be found guilty of manslaughter. Again it has been ruled in other cases that the fact of drunkenness may, owing to the particular circumstances of a case, rebut the inference of malice‡. Though drunkenness is no

\* Russian P.C., 106.

† *R. v. Thomas*, 7 C. & P., 817; *R. v. Cruse*, 8 C. and P., 546.

‡ *R. v. Meakin*, 7 C. and P., 297.

excuse, it may be taken into account by the jury, when considering the motive or intent of a person acting under its influence. \* Again, drunkenness is no excuse, but delirium tremens caused by drinking, and differing from drunkenness, if it produced such a degree of madness, even for a time, as to render a person incapable of distinguishing right from wrong, relieves him from criminal responsibility. † Even Hale laid it down that if an act is done in a fit of delirium tremens caused by voluntary drunkenness, it is not a crime. ‡ In America, too, the fact of drunkenness may be taken into consideration. It was held in Georgia, § that a charge that voluntary drunkenness affords no excuse for crime, but with the addition that the drunkenness might be considered by the jury like any other fact, to shed light on the transaction, was quite as favourable to the defendant charged with murder, as he could claim.

What are Indian judges to do in cases similar to the above? Consumption of ganja and bhang often produce a sort of oblivion, or a permanent or intermittent frenzy. It seems to me that such cases might be brought under the 84th section of the Penal Code, dealing with unsoundness of mind. If this cannot be done, either the severity of the 85th and 86th sections might be modified by the Legislature, or the executive Government should make a more frequent use of its power to pardon under section 401 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The matter cannot be considered to be quite settled either in England or America. In America, for instance, the courts have differed as regards the defence of dipsomania some courts holding that the question, whether there is such a disease, and whether the act was committed under its influence, is not a question of law, but of fact for the jury. The matter appears to have been well put to the jury by Baldwin, J. in the case of *United States v. Roudenbush*: "Intoxication is no excuse for crimes when the offence consists merely in doing a criminal act, without regarding intention. But when the act done is innocent in itself, and criminal only when done with a corrupt or malicious motive, a jury may presume from the fact of intoxication that there was a want of criminal intention; that the reasoning faculty, the power of discrimination between right and wrong, was lost in the excitement of the occasion."<sup>¶</sup> But this doctrine of course does not prevent murder being committed by a drunken man, for a man may resolve to kill another, then drink to intoxication and accomplish his purpose, in which case he specifically intends to take life. The question

\* *R. v. Gamlen*, 1 F. and F., 90.

† *R. v. Davis*, 14 Cox, C. C., 563

‡ 1 Hale P. C., 323.

§ 68 Ga., 618.

of intoxication is certainly one that will call for the attention of the Legislature on the next amendment of the Penal Code,

*Presumption as to Coercion of Married Women.*

The presumption that a married woman acts under the coercion of her husband when she commits an offence \* in his presence, is one that dates from a time when married women were in a state of complete subjection to their husbands. The Legislature would do well to abolish this presumption: and if it is necessary to preserve some distinction between the act of the husband and that of the wife, when they commit an offence jointly, it might be enacted that the wife should be subject to a smaller punishment. This is the law in Louisiana † where command or persuasion of the husband is proved. "A married woman committing an offence by the command or persuasion of her husband shall suffer no greater punishment than simple imprisonment for one-half of the time to which she would have been sentenced, if she had committed the offence without such command or persuasion. Living together at the time, and general reputation of marriage shall be sufficient to reduce the punishment of the reputed wife. But offences punishable by imprisonment for life are excepted from the operation of this article." There is no presumption of compulsion in Louisiana: such fact has to be proved. This presumption finds no place in the Indian Penal Code, though in India its application would be fully justified by the circumstances of the country and the subjection of women to their husbands. Neither does it find any place in the law of Scotland. In England, even if the wife's act be begun elsewhere, it is within the rule if completed in the presence of the husband. Therefore, when "Elizabeth Ryan, better known by the name of Paddy Brown's wife," had in England been convicted under 16 Geo. 2, c. 31, for conveying an implement of escape to her husband in prison, she was deemed to have acted under his coercion, as she had procured the instrument by his direction, and the conviction was upset. And where a wife went from house to house uttering base coin, her husband accompanying her but remaining outside, it was held that her act must be presumed to have proceeded from his coercion. The presumption, however, is not conclusive; it may be rebutted by evidence.

The presumption is one that might be eliminated from the new English Criminal Code. At the same time there are good reasons for incorporating it in the Indian Criminal Law.

*De minimis non curat lex.*

The doctrine that the courts will not assume jurisdiction in

\* Treason, murder, manslaughter, and probably also robbery, are excepted.

† Lou. P.C., 31, 32.

trifling matters is based on the above maxim and on another, somewhat analogous, *in jure non remota sed proxima causa spectatur*. These maxims are as applicable to criminal as to civil law, though, so far as I know, there is no direct decision in English law to this effect as regards the maxim *de minimis*. The framers of the Indian Penal Code have partly embodied the maxim in the chapter of General Exceptions. Sec 95 enacts that "nothing is an offence by reason that it causes, or that it is intended to cause, or that it is known to be likely to cause any harm if that harm is so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm." The doctrine is one that might be specifically incorporated in the English Criminal Code.

There are, however, some cases in English law in which the principle contained in the maxim hardly appears to have been sufficiently recognized. For instance, the reports show that trifling larcenies have been punished, which probably would have gone unpunished in India. It has been held\* that an indictment for larceny may be maintained even though the value of the thing taken be less than the smallest coin or denomination of money known to the law. In cases of arson, on the other hand, it appears reasonable that the maxim *de minimis* should not be applied, and in several American cases it has not been acted on. However trifling the result of the fire, the intent is just as heinous and the act equally dangerous. It is to cases of petty nuisance that the maxim is especially applicable. Again, the carelessness of a medical man must be more than slight before he can be made liable for manslaughter. A master is not criminally responsible for the acts of his servant, unless his carelessness in employing him or looking after him has been very great. In these, and other matters, the maxim is constantly acted on by English judges and it should be made a part of the statutory law. As has been mentioned above, the doctrine is sometimes ignored, especially in cases of theft. Criminal jurists are not agreed as to how far stealing to satisfy hunger is punishable. Lycurgus allowed hungry men to steal. The civilians got over the difficulty easily by defining larceny to be the taking of goods for the sake of gain (*lucri causâ*); and hence, if a starving man stole meat to satisfy hunger, he was not within the definition. It is said in the *Mirror*,† that it was owing to petty thefts being caused by hunger, that Edward I. ordered those con-

\* *R. v. Morris*, 9 Car. and P. 349. See also *R. v. Bingley*, 5 Car. and P. 602. In the latter case the property taken was a slip of paper containing a memorandum of a debt due to the person robbed. It was held that the offence was robbery, as the prosecutor showed, by carrying the memorandum in his pocket, that he consided it of some value.

† *Mirror*, c. iv, s. 16.

victed of larceny under the value of a shilling to be exempt from capital punishment. Hawkins said that extreme necessity was an excuse for felony, provided the necessity that induced the invasion of another's property did not arise from prodigality or idleness, or neglecting one's own business. Lord Bacon asserted without any qualification, that if one stole viands to satisfy his present hunger, this was not felony or larceny. But it should be remembered that in Bacon's time a poor-law was not thoroughly established. Lord Hale denied that such was the law of England, at least since the statutory provision for the poor, because of the manifest insecurity of property, if a man might allege a necessity, of which *none but he himself could judge*. But the reality of the necessity is a question of fact, which may be proved like other facts. However, English judges have always punished hunger thefts; and it is related in *Foss's Judges*, that Rooke, J. commended a jury for finding a hungry little girl guilty of larceny for stealing a small mouthful of food, and he sentenced her to pay a fine of one shilling; but took care to add that if she had not got that sum, he would give her one for the purpose. Did this act amount to theft? In India it might be brought under sec. 95 of the Penal Code, especially as there is no poor-law for the relief of starving persons.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS,  
*Bengal Civil Service.*

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## HE GIVETH HIS BELOVED SLEEP.

When great Elijah looked his God to find  
Where none but God was nigh ;  
In storm nor earthquake did He come enshrined  
A still small voice passed by.

Voiceless, unceasing, are the wondrous powers  
That rule in earth and air ;  
With quiet sunshine through unnoticed hours  
The tree grows broad and fair.

O'er life's vain tumult leans a silent Friend  
Whose watchful care is deep ;  
A rest from labour gives He at the end  
Gives His beloved sleep.

A. EWBANK.



## THE QUARTER.

THE principal events of the quarter, under review, have been ; the marked increase in the anti-German feeling in France accentuated by the arrest of a French official on the Franco-German frontier ; the change in the French Ministry ; the progress of the Crime's Bill through the House of Commons ; the *Time's* charges against Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon ; the celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen in England ; the satisfactory progress of the dakoity campaign in Burmah ; the unsatisfactory result of the latest conferences of the Anglo-Russian Delimitation Commission ; the loss of the mail steamer *Tasmania* ; the great cyclone in the Bay of Bengal ; the continuance of the Simla exodus agitation in the native, and in a section of the Anglo-Indian press ; the progress of the public Service Commission and the close of the Finance Commission.

What threatened to be a very awkward and alarming incident—the arrest by the German police of a French official—was got over by that happy mixture of skill, prudence and promptitude which always characterizes the statecraft of Prince Bismarck. The French official was released after a very short detention, but the arrest itself was justified on grounds which the French Government and French frontier officials will have no excuse for not understanding in the future. The police officers on the frontier, German and French, were in constant communication—this was inevitable—and to facilitate the friendly transaction of business between them, the French Commissary had been granted a safe conduct on German territory. The French Commissary grossly abused the privileges of his position as a protected personage on German soil. He conspired against the German Government on German territory. This was proved beyond the possibility of dispute—in fact the French Government made no attempt to dispute it—in the course of the inquiry held by the German authorities and hence the order for his arrest ; but Prince Bismarck while completely justifying the arrest and the action of the German frontier authorities, decided from “high international considerations” to advise the Emperor to order the release of the French Commissary, and he was accordingly released. The French Press acting no doubt under advice from the French Government, has been very wisely reticent about the matter but there can be no doubt that the incident created a profound sensation in French society and led to a marked revival

of the bitter anti-German feeling in France. During the quarter under review there was a change in the French Ministry, and M. Rouvier became the Premier of the new Government. The other ministers are, politically speaking, unknown men. The retention or otherwise of General Boulanger as minister for War is *the* French political question of the time. The Germans at least attach extreme importance to it, but this is a feeling which it is a little difficult to understand. Presumably the French ministers are not fools, and if they are really desirous of carrying out Boulanger's policy, and quietly completing his military plans and preparations, they can do so under his influence and inspiration, whether he is a member of the Government or not. And this, beyond all doubt, is what they will do if Boulanger at any time is sacrificed to German sensitiveness and excluded from the Government.

The Bulgarian question has not openly developed any new features of peculiar interest during the quarter under review. The regency continue to govern Bulgaria, and Russia has not succeeded in organising another "midnight conspiracy" as an excuse for taking possession of the country. Nevertheless Russian intrigue is still very active in the Balkan peninsula, and it is certain that the present state of things cannot last long.

During the quarter under review the *London Times* "frighted our isle from its propriety" by a series of astonishing revelations respecting the alleged connexion between Parnellism and crime. The accusations of the *Times* were very specific and definite. According to the *Times*, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon were in close association with the "Invincibles." Egan, Sheridan, and the rest—with men whose "avowed" policy, in connexion with the nationalist movement, was a policy of outrage and assassination. Nor was this all. The *Times* printed the *fac simile* of a letter said to have been addressed privately by Mr. Parnell to Mr. Egan, just after the awful tragedy in the Phoenix Park, where Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish were butchered by Brady, Mullens and the rest, the agents of that "Council of blood" of which Sheridan and Egan and "No. 1" were the chief organisers at the time. In this letter Mr. Parnell regretted the "accident" of Lord Frederick Cavendish's murder, but thought that Mr. Burke had "got no more than his deserts." The *Times* asserted the perfect genuineness of the letter, and offered to make good its assertion by overwhelming evidence in a court of law. Mr. Parnell did not accept the challenge. He contented himself with denying the authenticity of the letter in the House of Commons. It was a "barefaced and palpable forgery." Perhaps it was, but it is a profound pity,

that the vitally important question—the genuineness or otherwise of this extraordinary letter, was not submitted for adjudication to the only tribunal—a Court of Law—competent to undertake, to the satisfaction of the public, an examination of this description. In the meantime the question remains in this position. The positive assertion of the *Times* on the one hand is met by the equally positive assertion of Mr. Parnell on the other, but there is this all important difference between the accusation and the denial. The accusation is supported by *prima facie* evidence of the most startling and significant description. The denial is supported by no evidence of any kind. Under these circumstances, Mr. Parnell's refusal to take up the challenge of the *Times* must tell heavily against him in the minds of thoughtful and unprejudiced men. He has practically allowed judgment to go against him by default.

During the quarter under review a most serious disaster befell the P. & O. Company. The *Tasmania* was wrecked off the coast of Corsica. Through some unaccountable error in navigation the ship was some miles out of her course when she struck. The wreck was attended with considerable loss of life: the Captain, 2nd officer, quartermaster, and about 15 of the Lascar crew were lost. The passengers were saved, the ladies (with the exception of two and the children were got on shore in the life boat, and the men and the two ladies who remained on board were rescued after twenty-four hours of incredible hardship and suffering by Mr. Platt's steam yacht the *Norseman*, and the Corsican government steamer the *Perseverant*. The Lascars died for the most part of cold and exposure. All the incidents of the wreck were powerfully described by Mr. G. W. Allen, in a letter to the *London Standard*, but that letter has given rise to a bitter controversy between the P. & O. management on the one hand and the passengers, represented by Mr Allen and others, on the other. According to Mr. Allen the Captain was physically unfit for his position. He was in bad health—he had outlived the energy which a commander should possess—and when the ship struck he went about “like a man dazed,” and seemed incapable of assuming the responsibility of command. Then the Lascar crew behaved disgracefully. All discipline was lost, and they thought of nothing but saving themselves. These assertions and reflections have been most energetically repelled by the P. & O. authorities, and in some instances at least, not without a certain degree of success. The Captain was only 52 years of age, and it is absurd to imagine that an office of 52 has outlived the energy necessary for the command of a steamer. The Captain was dazed because immediately after the vessel struck, he met with a severe accident

which incapacitated him for a time. The Lascars behaved well, until the terrible exposure to which they were subjected, incapacitated them for work, and the Serang lost his life in the attempt to launch one of the boats. So far so good, but why did four of the Tasmania officers go off with the ladies and children in the life boat, and why did they not return with the life boat to the wreck? This is a very important question indeed, and no doubt it will receive the consideration it merits from the Court of Inquiry.

The diplomatic torpedo is a machine which Prince Bismarck may be said to have constructed, and in the use of which he is the greatest proficient in our time. Just before the Franco-Prussian war, he exploded, for the particular benefit of England, that torpedo which revealed the designs of Napoleon the third on Belgium. Lately he has exploded another torpedo, revealing the joint designs of Russia and Austria on Turkey. The feeling in Vienna is described as one of "diplomatic consternation, and the ministers responsible for the secret understanding which Prince Bismarck brought to light, are to be brought to a very strict account by the nation.

The remarkable series of articles on European politics generally attributed to Sir Charles Dilke have been continued during the quarter under review. One of these articles deals with Russia's designs on India. Now the writer may be, and we have no doubt is, a great authority on European politics, but what he has to say about Russia and the Russian position in Central Asia, is in our opinion utterly useless, simply because he has not taken the pains to keep himself thoroughly informed on the subject. He speaks of "impassable deserts" between Candahar and Herat, and he speaks of the Sikhs as being the only portion of our native army which could be matched against the Russians. Has he never heard of Mahrattas, Goorkhas or Beloochees.

Another act in that long and dreary farce—the Frontier Delimitation Commission—was opened at St. Petersburg during the quarter under review, and closed on the usual tableaux—another Russian triumph and another English humiliation. Lord Salisbury is not responsible for the almost incredible stupidity and gullibility which led to the organization of the Commission, in the first instance. It was Mr. Gladstone's government which sent an English officer and English soldiers, or soldiers in English employ, to be spectators at the battle of Panjdeh, but Lord Salisbury is responsible for keeping up this feeble attempt to fix within definite limits—the Russian boundaries in Turkestan,

The Afghan boundary is so extensive and so ill defined, that Russia is quite ready to settle it at one point or in one direction, knowing well that she can always keep in reserve some disputed point at another. And this is precisely what she has done in connexion with the latest conference at St. Petersburg, for she declines altogether to accept the English proposition respecting the Afghan boundary towards the frontier of Bokhara. That must remain an "open question." For how long? Well, until it suits Russia to close it in her own interest and at her own opportunity. Now in the name of common-sense what have we gained so far by the labours of the Afghan Boundary Commission? True, the Russian frontier towards Herat has been defined with the utmost exactitude; but it has been defined in a manner which leaves Herat practically at the mercy of Russia in case of war. Is this an advantage? We are beginning to carry our love of definitions to an extraordinary extent, when we can point with pride to the settlement which has placed the Herat valley in the jaws of Russia. Then, as against this "advantage," there was the fact—the melancholy humiliating fact—that British officers and British soldiers were forced to look on while the Russians routed our allies, the Afghans, at Panjdeh, under their very noses. It would be difficult—it might be entirely impossible—to over-estimate the bad effect on English prestige which this "fact" exercised over the impressionable people of Turkestan. It was made plain to the Boundary Commission officers themselves during their retreat, and they never ceased to deplore it as a most humiliating and disastrous diplomatic reverse. The long foreshadowed meeting between the Sepoy and the Cossack has taken place, and they met not on the banks of the Oxus but on the banks of the Murghab. With what result? The Sepoy retreated entangled in the flight of his routed allies, and the Cossack advanced to a position which placed him within striking distance of Herat.

The problem which the Indian Government has now to solve has been well indicated by an astute writer in the *Saturday Review*. It is useless going back now on the follies and miscalculations—the lamentable stupidity and credulity which led us to remain passive while the Russians advanced from the shores of the Caspian to the frontiers of Afghanistan. What has been done cannot be undone; and now all we can do is to possess our souls in patience and strengthen our own frontier to the best of our ability and by every means in our power. And this is what we are doing; and it is certain that the Russians will find an invasion, of India a very hard nut to crack indeed.

The latest distinguished visitor to our Indian shores was a cyclone which swept with great violence over the Bay, and produced stormy and unsettled weather nearly all over Bengal for more than a week. The cyclone was accompanied by a great number of wrecks and a deplorable loss of life. The *Sir John Lawrence*, a pilgrim ship to Cuttack, foundered, and of the crew and passengers, some 750 in number, not a soul is believed to have been saved. The steam-tug *Retriever* put to sea just as the storm commenced, and she had in tow the sailing vessel *Godiva*. The *Retriever* was forced to cast off the *Godiva*, and the sailing vessel, escaping destruction by "the skin of her teeth," contrived to beach herself safely on the coast, but the *Retriever* foundered and was lost. Only one man, a native fireman, was saved from the *Retriever*. He was picked up on a piece of the wreck, to which he had held on for more than twelve hours. There was only one passenger on the *Retriever*, Mr. J. Keith Sim, a genial and popular member of Calcutta society, and his loss is deeply mourned by a wide circle of sincere friends.

The Finance Commission has finished its labours and submitted its report. That report, so we are informed by the Government of India, must be regarded as confidential for the present, but the general result is indicated for us in the Government acknowledgment. The recommendations of the Committee when carried out, or if carried out, will result in a saving of some five lakhs per annum in provincial expenditure "without prejudice to the efficiency of the Public Service." These be tidings of comfort and of joy, but the "confidential" character of the recommendations is an effectual stopper on all criticism of their value for the present.

The Public Service Commission has nearly finished its labours and will shortly be engaged in the consideration of its report. In the meantime, the general result may be indicated as follows: There was practically a consensus of opinion among the European witnesses that natives are unfit for the higher and responsible administrative appointments, and there was practically a consensus of opinion among the native witnesses, that they were rather more fit for these appointments than Europeans, and that, as natives of India, they had to these appointments a "preferential claim."

GEO. A. STACK.

The 24th June 1887.

# SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

## Public Instruction, Madras.

### PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The number of students who appeared for the various examinations of the University, other than the Matriculation examination, was 2,041, as against 1,517 in 1884-85; and of this number only 739, or 36 per cent. passed, as compared with 622, or 41 per cent. in the previous year. These percentages cannot be considered satisfactory, and it is clear either that there is much room for improvement in the instruction given in colleges, or that the Matriculation examination is not sufficiently difficult. The percentage of passes was only 34·4 for the B. A. degree examination, and 33·7 for the First in Arts or intermediate examination. It is observed that, taking these examinations together, Government institutions passed 36·9 per cent. of their candidates, and aided institutions 32·6 per cent. The following table shows the results in the first-grade colleges :—

| College                             |     | Percentage of Passes. |      |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|------|
|                                     |     | B.A.                  | F.A. |
| Government—                         |     |                       |      |
| Presidency College                  | ... | 42·5                  | 34·4 |
| Kumbakonam College                  | ... | 38·4                  | 44·0 |
| Rajahmundry                         | ... | 58·3                  | 40·4 |
| Aided—                              |     |                       |      |
| Madras Christian College            | ... | 34·9                  | 28·3 |
| Doveton College                     | ... | ...                   | 75·0 |
| Tanjore S. P. G. College            | ... | 40                    | 28·3 |
| Tuticorin Caldwell College          | ... | ...                   | 36·4 |
| Trichinopoly St. Joseph's College   | ... | 20                    | 37·1 |
| Do. S. P. G. College                | ... | 28·6                  | 25·9 |
| Unaided—                            |     |                       |      |
| The Maharaja's College, Vizianagram | ..  | 0                     | 45·4 |
| Average for Presidency              | ... | 34·4                  | 33·7 |

As usual, a large majority of the persons who passed the Arts examinations were Brahmans, no less than 71·8 per cent. of the students who obtained the B. A. degree being of that caste. The increase in the proportion of passes secured by other classes of the community noticed in 1884-85 has thus not been maintained at the B. A. examination; but at the F. A., while the proportion of Brahmans among successful candidates is stationary, those for "Other Hindus" and Muhammadans have increased.

The number of students who appeared for the B. L. degree was 72, and 36 of these were successful. The number of students in the Madras Medical College continued to increase,\* and there was again a large advance in the number appearing for the various medical examinations of the University.† The percentage of passes was 61·2. His Excellency in Council notices that a female student of this college succeeded in obtaining the L. M. S. degree, and was thus the first female graduate of the

|        |     |     |     |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|
| * 1883 | ... | ... | 113 |
| 1884   | ... | ... | 124 |
| 1885   | ... | ... | 134 |

|        |     |     |     |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|
| † 1883 | ... | ... | 38  |
| 1884   | ... | ... | 75  |
| 1885   | ... | ... | 116 |

Madras University. Eight pupils appeared for the B. C. E. degree, but only three were successful, as against 7 out of 11 in the previous year.

The total expenditure on higher education was Rs. 4,68,596, as compared with Rs. 4,26,363 in the previous year. The contribution from provincial revenues advanced from Rs. 1,90,415 to Rs. 2,11,003.

#### SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The number of Secondary Schools advanced from 762 to 784, and the number of pupils from 30,372 to 31,113. The following table shows the position in more detail :—

|                  | 1884-85. |           | 1885-86. |           |
|------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
|                  | Schools. | Scholars. | Schools. | Scholars. |
| Upper Secondary— |          |           |          |           |
| For boys .. ...  | 120      | 6,659     | 127      | 6,162     |
| For girls .. ... | 26       | 160       | 22       | 95        |
| Total ...        | 146      | 6,819     | 149      | 6,257     |
| Lower Secondary— |          |           |          |           |
| For boys ... ..  | 476      | 22,065    | 460      | 23,032    |
| For girls ... .. | 140      | 1,488     | 175      | 1,824     |
| Total ...        | 616      | 23,553    | 635      | 24,856    |
| GRAND TOTAL ...  | 762      | 30,372    | 784      | 31,113    |

The decrease in the number of pupils attending upper secondary classes is ascribed to the great falling off in the number of pupils who succeeded in passing the Middle-School examination in December 1885. The scheme of that examination underwent considerable changes in February 1885 and whereas 59 per cent. of the candidates were successful in 1884, only 33 per cent. succeeded in passing in the following year. This matter has already received the attention of the Government, and upon the advice of the Director, the conditions of the examination were greatly simplified in September last.

#### *Department of Agriculture and Commerce, N.-W.-P.*

THE most interesting paragraphs in this report relate to the various experiments at Cawnpore.

Amongst experiments, those with woollen refuse from the Cawnpore Mills as a manure gave increasingly good results, and the usual comparative experiments with manures were carried through successfully. Experiments with maize cultivated as in America and with sugarcane cultivated as in the Mauritius proved in both instances failures. From varied trials with cotton, more facts were accumulated in regard to production under different modes of cultivation; oilseeds grown alone and mixed were tested for outturn, and so also were certain mixed kharif crops. The plots for kharif crops sown to test produce were maintained.

The following is a summary of the rabi season's operations :—

About 13½ acres were devoted to various experiments with wheat and 7½ acres more to wheat grown under ordinary conditions.



On the best of the experimental plots the average yield was 33·6 bushels per acre, as against 30 bushels, considered a good yield in Europe, and this, too, in the face of unfavorable conditions for what at one time promised to be a superlatively fine harvest greatly retrograded under the influence of dry strong winds acting on the ripening grain.

In the annual repetition of certain set classes of experiments, going to form a series from which eventually accurate deductions may be drawn, the results have this year been classified, and will in future be always classified so as to show plainly the net profit on each operation. A fact brought out very clearly so far is the advantage of alternating crops of wheat with other grains in place of repeating wheat alone year by year. This is no discovery, but it is a great advantage to have the facts at hand for pointing axioms, such as that of the necessity of rotation of crops. The plots on which maize and wheat alternate, exhibit constantly a larger yield than those on which wheat alone is grown from year to year.

In manures some new experiments were instituted to test the value of oil-cake applied direct to the land as compared to feeding cattle with it and applying to the land the resultant. Figures are greatly in favor of using cattle as an intermediary, and here again the result was only such as might have been expected; still it is necessary to have figures to enforce the truth.

In green-soiling experiments the value of growing lucerne after barley as a preparation for wheat is one of several points of value made.

The Lois Weedon or Jethro Tull system, under which wheat is grown without manure, but more profitably than in the ordinary manner by leaving fallow strips between cropped strips, the fallow strips being carefully tilled and cropped in their turn in alternate years, has now, for the third season, given fair results, and may possibly prove useful for application to outlying village lands where manure is not procurable.

Barley after lucerne and oats, on land manured with woollen refuse, gave excellent results. The profit in the case of oats was estimated to be greater than that of wheat on a like acreage.

Messrs. Prashkauer and Co., London, who have extensive dealings in seeds in the European market, and whose representative visited the farm last year, kindly supplied a variety of field seeds for experiment, such as field beans, peas, Egyptian peas, and canary seed. The only kind, however, that succeeded was canary seed, which gave a very good crop, and which is largely imported into England. Mangold wurzel and Belgium carrots were grown from English seed, and in both cases crop paid well.

Ensilage, as has been elsewhere remarked, is now beyond the experimental stage, and forms part of the working system of the station.

An interesting experiment in the pods of the *Inga dulcis* as a food for sheep and cattle was carried out. Sheep fed for upwards of three weeks almost exclusively on the sweet mucilaginous pods of *Inga dulcis* gained in weight, and as the tree yields its pods in large quantities and is very hardy, its more extended plantation in waste places and on grazing lands seems desirable.

Of implements successfully experimented with may be noted an improved Bull's drier and a centrifugal sugar separator.

*Calcutta Court of Small Causes 1886.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS.—

The number of cases for disposal, the number disposed of, and the manner in which they were dealt with, are shown in the following statement, the figures of 1886 being compared with those for the two previous years:—

|   |     |                |                |                |
|---|-----|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Pending from the previous year                  | ... | 1886.<br>3,291 | 1885.<br>2,664 | 1884.<br>1,801 |
| Instituted during the year (including revivals) |     | 29,513         | 31,002         | 31,074         |
|   |     | <u>32,804</u>  | <u>33,666</u>  | <u>32,875</u>  |
| Decreed in favor of plaintiff after contest     |     | 4,418          | 4,003          | 4,076          |
| Decreed in favor of plaintiff without contest   |     | 9,810          | 10,273         | 9,450          |
| Dismissed after trial                           | ... | 1,352          | 1,202          | 1,312          |
| Non suited or withdrawn                         | ... | 702            | 743            | 816            |
| Compromised                                     | ... | 10,014         | 10,796         | 11,493         |
| Dismissed for default or want of prosecution    | ... | 3,598          | 3,243          | 2,995          |
| Dismissed uncontested                           | ... | 50             | 73             | 70             |
| Pending at the close of the year                | ... | <u>2,850</u>   | <u>3,291</u>   | <u>2,664</u>   |
|   |     | <u>32,804</u>  | <u>33,664</u>  | <u>32,875</u>  |

As compared with the preceding year, "Miscellaneous cases," as shown in one of the statements appended to the report to the High Court, fell off by 29. There was a decrease of 1,428 in the institution of regular suits, exclusive of revivals, and the figure for 1886 is less than that for 1881 (34,108), the last year before the introduction of the present Act, by 4,892. The falling off in the past year was chiefly in suits below Rs. 50 in value, though there was also a slight diminution in the number of suits up to the value of Rs. 100 and of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, and again in those of above Rs. 1,000 in value, of which the latter take up most time and give the most trouble. The work, however, increased in other directions. There were 11,403 "Other applications" against 8,633 in 1885—a rise of 2,770; the number of applications for execution of decrees increased by 871, from 17,636 to 18,507; and applications for leave to sue under section 18 by 141—1,684 against 1,543.

The appointment of a Fifth Judge from the 1st November enabled the Court to dispose of a slightly increased number of contested cases, and to reduce the very heavy pending file from 3,291 to 2,850. There were, at the close of the year, 946 cases that had been pending more than three months, against 1,076 in the previous year.

*Trade of N. W. Provinces and Oudh, 1885-1886.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS:—

**EXTERNAL TRAFFIC**—Of the entire external traffic of the Province, Calcutta took over 42 per cent. of the total exports, and supplied over 18 per cent. of the total imports; Bombay took only 12.5 per cent. of the total exports, and supplied less than 2 per cent. of the total imports; Bengal (excluding Calcutta), Rajputana, and the Panjáb took altogether about 39 per cent. of the total exports, and supplied over 72 per cent. of the total imports. In exports they took nearly equal shares, but in imports the supplies from Bengal more than equalled the supplies from the Panjáb and Rajputana taken together. The traffic with other Provinces was but of small dimensions. The total export to and import from each Province and Port are shown in the following table, with corresponding figures for the previous year:—

| Provinces and Ports.                     | <i>Exports.</i> |             | <i>Imports.</i> |             |
|--|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
|  | 1884-85.        | 1885-86.    | 1884-85.        | 1885-86.    |
|  | Mds.            | Mds.        | Mds.            | Mds.        |
| Bengal, excluding Calcutta ...           | ...             | ...         | ...             | ...         |
| Calcutta ...                             | 25,80,137       | 35,17,405   | 57,56,385       | 74,01,644   |
| Panjab ...                               | 71,49,889       | 1,11,81,216 | 33,01,925       | 37,02,145   |
| Sindh ...                                | ...             | 36,25,941   | ...             | 32,61,342   |
| ...                                      | 32,03,340       | 2,51,228    | 37,68,915       | 46,886      |
| Rajputana and Central India ...          | 27,18,146       | 29,00,935   | 47,71,589       | 40,61,089   |
| Central Provinces ...                    | 5,68,703        | 4,54,944    | 3,99,270        | 2,11,201    |
| Berar ...                                | ...             | 85,016      | ...             | 39,823      |
| Nizam's Territory ...                    | ...             | 4,767       | ...             | 363         |
| Mysore ...                               | 4,90,109        | 629         | 72,928          | 67          |
| Bombay Presidency, excluding Bombay Port | ...             | 6,47,194    | ...             | 11,61,486   |
| Madras ...                               | ...             | 73,132      | ...             | 4,432       |
| Bombay Port ...                          | 19,27,672       | 32,74,119   | 3,81,010        | 3,93,923    |
| Total ...                                | 1,86,37,996     | 2,60,16,626 | 1,84,52,022     | 2,02,82,401 |

**CHIEF STAPLES OF TRADE.**—Analysed by staples, raw produce formed 68 per cent. of the entire exports, the chief being wheat, other food grains, oilseeds, and cotton. The chief among the manufactured articles which these Provinces sent out were sugar, ghi, shell-lac, saltpetre, indigo, opium, and tea. The imports were chiefly cotton goods, metals, salt, coal, and railway materials. The quantity of each staple exported and imported during 1885-86 and in the preceding year is noted below :—

| <i>Exports.</i>         |     | 1884-85.    | 1885-86.    |
|-------------------------|-----|-------------|-------------|
|                         |     | Mds.        | Mds.        |
| Total exports           | ... | 1,86,37,996 | 2,60,16,526 |
| Exports of wheat        | ... | 37,99,282   | 81,73,575   |
| Do. other grains        | ... | 20,01,201   | 44,29,228   |
| Do. oilseeds            | ... | 37,17,204   | 36,53,950   |
| Do. cotton              | ... | 7,90,536    | 10,18,257   |
| Do. sugar               | ... | 23,71,891   | 22,92,605   |
| Do. ghi                 | ... | 1,03,771    | 1,34,745    |
| Do. shell-lac           | ... | 84,385      | 93,653      |
| Do. saltpetre           | ... | 1,41,439    | 1,30,302    |
| Do. indigo              | ... | 78,474      | 37,068      |
| Do. opium               | ... | 1,05,066    | 1,11,281    |
| Do. tea                 | ... | 13,193      | 16,582      |
| <i>Imports.</i>         |     | 1884-85.    | 1885-86.    |
|                         |     | * Mds.      | Mds.        |
| Total imports           | ... | 1,84,52,022 | 2,02,82,401 |
| Imports of cotton goods | ... | 7,17,497    | 8,44,986    |
| Do. metals              | ... | 7,93,860    | 7,87,239    |
| Do. salt                | ... | 33,83,920   | 32,71,203   |
| Do. coal                | ... | 45,33,118   | 56,83,367   |
| Do. railway material,   | ... | 38,97,706   | 45,34,819   |

### *The Jails of Bengal, 1886.*

#### **P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The statistics for the year show highly favorable results in the following particulars :—

- (1). The daily average population of convicts was only 13,504 as against 15,506 five years ago, and the year 1886 closed with the smallest number on record—13,465. The decrease would be still greater if the prisoners from Burma were not included.
- (2). The discipline in our jails is reported by official visitors to have been maintained at a very high standard, while the total number of punishments has decreased from 49,740 in 1881 to 40,504 in 1886; the number punished by whipping has also decreased from 914 in 1881 to 396 in 1886.
- (3). The warder-guard is now a well-organised and highly-trained body of men. All difficulties in regard to recruiting them for unpopular districts have disappeared under the orders issued a year ago. How much the security of our jails has been increased may be judged from such figures as these : escapes in 1870, 192; in 1881, 37; in 1885, 14; in 1886, 17; this latter number includes 3 Burmans. With the improvement in the guarding arrangements, it has been possible to do away almost entirely with fetters for safe custody.

- (4). The gross jail expenditure, which was Rs. 11,16,423 in the previous year, has been reduced to Rs. 10,93,361. All items of controllable expenditure show a reduction.
  - (5). As regards manufactures, we are in a better position to-day than we have been for years. It has been decided that machinery may be employed in Bengal jails under certain restrictions, and that the requirements of the consuming departments shall, as far as possible, be supplied by jails. These result have been obtained for us by Sir Rivers Thompson.
  - (6). The development of the subsidiary jail system at the head quarters of sub-divisions, has given us 84 well-organised miniature jails. Sixteen new subsidiary jails have been built in the last five years.
  - (7). The most remarkable improvement—and one in which Sir Rivers Thompson has taken a personal interest—is the lowering of the death-rate in our jails. For 20 years previous to 1883, the average death-rate was 61·5 per mille; for the last four years the average has been 49·4 per mille. The statistics for the year 1886 are remarkable, showing a death-rate of only 37·0 per mille—the lowest figure ever known in the history of this Department.
  - (8). The Hazaribagh Reformatory School has been enlarged, and is now capable of accommodating 231 boys. Both the Alipore and the Hazaribagh Schools have worked with great success.
  - (9). The work of inspection has been regularly carried on. I visited every jail during the year, and official visitors have recorded 2,463 visits to jails. The following figures show how much improvement has taken place in the all-important subject of visits to jails by visitors not directly connected with them. For the five years from 1877 to 1881 the average yearly visits numbered 1,666. For the last five years the average has been 2,295.
  - (10). It has been possible, with the help of 12 apprentices during the year, to arrange for the working of my office without any increase of establishment, such as it was at one time feared would have to be entertained. This yearly report is some indication of its efficiency
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*CALCUTTA REVIEW.*

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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No. 170.—OCTOBER, 1887.

## ART. I.—THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA.

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*Steele's New Hebrides,* 1886.

*Rye's Bibliography of New Guinea,* 1885.

*Lives of Bishops Selwyn and Pattison.*

*Wallace's Australasia,* 1879.

*Colonial Atlas of Oceania,* 1886.

THE ancient geographers believed that there was a vast continent to the South of the Indian Ocean, which they called Antikthów. Navigators had come upon islands at such long distance from each other in the Indian Archipelago, it was believed that there was one continuous land. The idea survived as far as 1568, A. D. ; for when Mendana, the nephew of the Spanish Viceroy of Peru, discovered the Solomon Islands, he named them Tierra Australis, believing that he had found a new continent. Subsequent discoveries have dissipated all such notions, but a new region has been added to the descriptive category of the world, named "Oceania," and this is the subject which it is proposed now to treat.

What are the limits of Oceania? It has some times been called Australasia, as being a southern extension of Asia, and including the great island continent of Australia ; but as it is an insular region lying upon the waters of the Pacific, the name Oceania is more suitable. With certain exceptions, which will be named, it lies south of the equator, and north of the tropic of Capricorn. Estimated by the actual land area, it is only a little larger than Europe : estimated by the surface of the face of the globe over which the islands are spread, the area occupied exceeds that of Asia, for it stretches from Australia

on the west to Easter Island on the east : from the Sandwich Islands north of the equator to the southern point of New Zealand. Maláysia is excluded from this region, as it is part of Asia, and has participated in the civilisation of Asia. It may be said of Oceania in its entirety, that it has lain outside the influences of Asiatic civilisation, and religions, and languages.

It may be divided into four sub-regions—

|               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| I—Polynesia.  | III—Mikronesia. |
| II—Melanesia. | IV—Australia.   |

The sub-region of Polynesia extends from Easter Island in the far east to the Tonga group : from east longitude  $110^{\circ}$  to east longitude  $175^{\circ}$ , and from the Sandwich Islands  $25^{\circ}$  north of the equator to New Zealand  $45^{\circ}$  south of the equator. The chief groups are the Society or Georgian, the Harvey or Cook, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, the Union, the Samoa, the Tonga, and the Maori. The number of islands is very great, and the beauty of the scenery, and the fertility of the soil are notorious. Their existence may be said to have been certified by Tasman in 1645, and by Bonganville in 1768 ; but they were first brought to fuller notice by Captain Cook in his first celebrated voyage, when he visited Tahiti for the purpose of making astronomical observations, and in his last voyage he discovered the Sandwich Islands or Hawaii, and there he perished.

Since then they have been repeatedly visited. The French Government laid their cold hand upon the Society, Paumotu, and Marquesas group. The Sandwich Islands are under the joint protectorate of England and the United States. The Samoa group maintains a precarious independence under the joint protectorate of England, the United States, and Germany. The other groups are for the present independent, but in these days of shameless annexation, it is impossible to say how long this may last. Neither Austria, Italy, nor Russia have taken up annexation thoroughly as yet. One thing is certain, that all over this region, in consequence of the European civilisation, intoxicating drinks and loathsome diseases left by the sailors, the population is wasting away, and will soon be entirely extinct. The mountains and valleys alone will remain in the grasp of the European invader and plunderer.

One important influence has been at work from the commencement : large portions of the population may be said to be nominal Christians, and have certainly abandoned the old bad habits of their ancestors. The Marquesas and Paumotu group are mainly Roman Catholic : the little islands of Wallis Island and Horne Island, *alias* Futuna, are entirely so ; and the others are Protestant, being brought over by the teaching

of the London Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. No more fascinating page can be found in the history of Protestant missions. It was no easy achievement, but the extraordinary feature is that as each islander was converted, native teachers were found ready to step forward and go among their heathen neighbours: thus gradually island after island was won to Christ; but in each is the martyr tomb of the first Christian, who was often killed, generally maltreated, and sometimes devoured with his wife and children. Nor were the labours of these devoted Polynesians confined to their own race and language; but they have been found ready to this day to go forward to Melanesia among the black races of the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and finally New Guinea, where at this very moment they are gallantly risking life, and giving up the ordinary comforts of life. It is a most remarkable phenomenon, and a wonderful testimony to the revivifying and strengthening power of the religious idea conveyed to unsophisticated and virgin races.

It may be accepted as a fact, that the languages of all these innumerable islands of Polynesia, are sister languages of one family, and descended from one common mother-speech. In common parlance, they are called "dialects;" but there are a certain number of distinct languages, mutually unintelligible, as the assertion, that the islander of one group can always readily make himself understood by the natives of another, is not confirmed by experience, and the best proof is, that at great expenditure of labour and money, the Bible has been translated and printed in the languages of Tahiti, Rarotonga, the Harvey Islands, Marquesas, Samoa, Nive or Savage Islands, Tonga, Hawaii, and Maori of New Zealand. A comparison of these several texts will convince any one of the distinctness of each form of speech; there are others also, sinking, in many cases, to the rank of dialects, of one or other of the above islands. It has been a favourite theory of some, that the Polynesian language-family is akin to the Malayan family. A very great authority, Von Humbolt, on the information available to him in 1830, said so, and men bow to authority. We have much better means of intercomparison now. It is admitted that a certain percentage of loan words is found, but not exceeding four per cent., and mostly modern words, while the languages are radically distinct both in structure and in word-store. There is no difficulty in bringing this to a test by a careful comparison of a Gospel in the two languages.

The leading features of the Polynesian family of languages are as follows:—

I. The adjective follows the substantive. II. Number is indicated by a change in the article. III. The possessive

pronoun precedes the noun. IV. The nominative follows the verb. V. Time is indicated by a preceding particle. VI. There is no grammatical gender. VII. The passive voice is formed by a suffix. VIII. Intensity and continuity of action is indicated by a prefix and reduplication. IX. Causation is affected by a prefix. X. Reciprocity of action is indicated by a prefix and suffix, and after, by a reduplication of the word as well. XI. Words always end with a vowel. The language is spoken with great grammatical accuracy. The word-store is sufficient for the expression of every idea. There is generally a ceremonious language for use among, and to, Chiefs. The component part of the name of a Chief is disused during his life and sometimes after his death. A considerable literature has now sprung up in several of the languages, and excellent dictionaries and grammars are provided, and this is entirely the work of missionaries.

• what race of men do they belong? First let me describe their features; the same type, more or less modified, applies to the whole region. They are bronze in colour, tall in stature, handsome and prepossessing, hospitable and gentle, with a certain knowledge of arts; excellent navigators, with abundance of oral legends and songs, but without any knowledge of the art of writing; licentious, in many islands cannibals, in all idolaters with occasional human sacrifices, cruel in their quarrels, wholesale killers of their offspring. With Christianity most of their evil habits, and some of the energy of their characters, and all their capacity for song, have disappeared.

A vast literature has come into existence as to the origin of the population of the whole of Oceania. Four distinct theories have been propounded. I. That a vast continent once occupied the space, which has subsided, and the islands are the summits of the highest mountains. II. That the eastern portion of the region was colonised from South America. III. That the whole region was colonized from Asia. IV. That New Zealand was the birthplace of an autochthonous race, the Maori, which spread over the Eastern Islands, and as far north as the Sandwich Islands. This, of course, leaves the origin of the Australians, Melanesians, and Mikronesians totally unexplained. The ingenious Frenchman who started the last theory within the last few years, has a peculiar contempt for those who still, even in a faint-hearted way, adhere to the generally received notion of a common origin of the human race. As a fact, within the region of Oceania there are three distinctly marked separate races: the bronze, the black woolly-haired race, which occupies Melanesia, and the black straight-haired of Australia. None of the three last theories cover the whole ground, and as to the sunken continent theory, it is merely

pushing the problem back to a still more remote period; for, when we have grasped the physical idea of a continent, we have still the question of the origin of the race which inhabited it, and how it came to be tripartite.

There have not been wanting those who put forward the idea of an Aryan origin to the Polynesians. The great grammarian, Bopp, set the example, but was considered, even by his most devoted admirers, to have failed. Since then, come with less technical knowledge, and far less renown, have attempted to walk in the same hazardous path, but the conception of the Aryan Maori, or of any Aryan language in a state of agglutinative existence, has not found favorable acceptance.

I pass on to the region of Melanesia. Other names have been used by former writers, but geographers at least, are settling down to this terminology. The English colony of Fiji is on the extreme east flank, and a necklace of islands extends in a semicircular sweep to the great island of New Guinea, the whole of which is included, as well as some smaller islands, which are with difficulty differentiated from the adjacent islands of Malaysia in Asia. The region extends from the Tropic of Capricorn to the equator in latitude, and from 170° to 138° longitude east of Greenwich. Fortunately, the groups of islands are well demarked, and we can proceed with absolute certainty geographically, and relative certainty linguistically, owing to the labors of several missionary societies. The inhabitants clearly belong to one race, black in color, woolly-haired, small in stature, fierce and inhospitable, unskilled in navigation, of a low type of culture. Wonderful as was the phenomenon of the absolute unity of the languages of Polynesia, still more wonderful is the phenomenon of the multiplicity and entire separateness of the languages of Melanesia. Each island has its own, and many islands, several. It is possible that the degree of distinctness may be exaggerated; and hereafter, when greater materials of comparison are available, certain affinities of structure may be discovered. A great deal has been done. Grammars, dictionaries, grammatical notes, vocabularies, texts, have been published, but generally by men more apt to collect and record individual languages than to systematise groups. But in some islands, notably New Caledonia, New Guinea, and the Bismark Archipelago, facts are required.

The circumstances of this region are so peculiar that I think it worth while to give the component groups in detail.

I. The Fiji group, consisting of the numerous islands of the Fiji Archipelago, and the islands of Rotuma. The languages of the two are entirely distinct, and have both been well studied. Of the Fiji there are numerous dialects.

II. The Loyalty Islands, consisting of three small islands



Mare, *alias* Nengone, Lifio, and Uvea. The languages of these three are so distinct, that the missionaries, though belonging to the same society, have found it necessary to prepare three distinct translations of the Bible, and moreover, in Uvea, in addition to the Melanesian aboriginals, there is a flourishing colony of Polynesian immigrants from the island of the same name in Polynesia, known as Wallis Island, who have conserved their own language.

III. The New Caledonia group includes that large island and the tiny Isle of Pines. Up to this moment I have failed in obtaining an exhaustive statement of the names of the languages of the greater islands, but there appear to be at least seven varieties, for no grammatical notes, but only scanty vocabularies, or brief allusions are forthcoming. I have written to a learned Roman Catholic priest at Noumea, praying for further details.

IV. The important group of the New Hebrides comes next with its sixteen languages, as recorded up to this time, and much larger number of islands. Some islands are entirely occupied by Polynesian immigrants, and their language is Polynesian not Melanesian, and not included—

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| 1. Aneityúm                     | 10. Pama.                        |
| 2. Tanna.                       | 11. Ambrym.                      |
| 3. Erromanga.                   | 12. Mallicollo.                  |
| 4. Fato, or Sandwich I.         | 13. Whitsuntide or Pentecost.    |
| 5. Nguna, or Montague I.        | 14. Espiritu Santo (2 dialects). |
| 6. Mae, or Three Hills.         | 15. Leper's Island.              |
| 7. Tongoa.                      | 16. Aurora (Maiwo).              |
| 8, 9. Api I., Tasiko, Lemororo. |                                  |

Of many of these languages we have grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies, grammatical notes and texts. The necessity of preparing distinct translations of the Bible proves the entire distinctness of the speech of islanders often living in sight of the homes of each other, but holding little or no intercourse.

V. The Banks Island group supplies the names, but little more than the names of nine languages—

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|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Merlav, or Star I.          | 6, 7. Motlao, or Saddle I. |
| 2, 3. Santa Maria, Gog, Laku.  | (2 languages).             |
| 4. Vanna Lava, or Great Banks. | 8. Rowa.                   |
| 1. (11 dialects).              | 9. Norbarbar, or Bligh I.  |
| 5. Mota or Sugar Loaf I.       |                            |

Mota is a notable exception, for the mere chance of a missionary training school having been opened on the Sugar Loaf Island, has made its language, the Mota, the *lingue franca* of the region, as the boys who are trained, in addition to the separate language of their own home, learn the common vehicle of instruction and social intercourse. In this language we have ample grammatical supplies.

VI. The three small groups of Torres Island, Santa Cruz, and Swallow Islands, supply four languages, very imperfectly known, the Lo of the first group, two languages of the second group, and one of the third group.

VII. In the important group of the Solomon Islands, I find ten languages :—

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|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. San Christobal (2 dialects). | 6. Savo.                   |
| 2. Alawa.                       | 7, 8. Ysabel, Bugotu, Gao. |
| 3. Malanta (4 dialects).        | 9. New Georgia.            |
| 4. Guadalcanar (3 dialects).    | 10. Eddystone I.           |
| 5. Florida.                     |                            |

Of some of these we have only a shadowy knowledge ; of others we have texts, vocabularies, and grammatical notes, and our knowledge is increasing yearly.

VIII. The group of the so-called Bismark Archipelago is composed of the islands of New Britain, the Duke of York's Islands, New Hanover, New Ireland, and Admiralty Island. Of the two former we have translations of portions of the Bible ; of the three latter only scanty vocabularies.

IX The Louisiade Archipelago is represented by a vocabulary of one language.

X. The group of New Guinea and its island. This is a comparatively speaking, *terra incognita* ; it is only within the last ten years that any thorough exploration has been attempted. About sixty-five languages are recorded, but of these only five are represented by solid information ; Mafur in Gelvinck Bay in the Dutch territory, Motu and Dahúni or South Cape in the south coast in the British territory, and the languages of Murray Island and Saibai Island. The others are represented by vocabularies collected by unscientific travellers, or by notes founded on hazardous reports. The cloud is lifting up, especially in the British portion, a little ; some notable progress has been made in the German and Dutch portions also. We find the languages on the coast looking to Malaysia effected by Malay influences, and on the coast looking to Polynesia, Polynesian affinities are traced distinctly. There is a field for endless discussion and great difference of opinion, and the data are very insufficient. The opinions of a great German writer, Dr. Fred. Müller, are contested by a great Dutch scholar, Prof. Kern, and the theories propounded by Dr. Codrington, who, of all Englishman, is best acquainted with the subject, are controverted by Prof. George von der Gabelentz, who has inherited from his father, the illustrious scholar, and acquired by his own labors, a high position among the linguistic scholars of Europe. In New Guinea there are unquestionably two races, a black and a brown ; some would maintain that a third race once existed, leaving some slight survivals still. These races have intermixed, and formed

numberless varieties. The two races meet at about the line of Cape Possession on the south coast, but nothing whatever is known of the interior of the island. No one has ever yet crossed it from sea to sea, and attempts have been made in vain.

There ends the detail of the Melanesian language. It is admitted that, after making allowance for their differences, they are homogeneous, and belong to the common stock of Oceania : that they have borrowed much, but that the loans have been made from a kindred, *and not an alien*, stock. The pure virgin essence of these languages has not been poisoned by any really foreign admixture, which cannot at once be traced to its source and removed like a stain from a garment.

The characteristic of Melanesian languages is, that they use consonants much more freely than Polynesian, and have some sounds not found in the latter, and are difficult to transliterate. Many syllables are closed. There is no difference between the definite and indefinite article except in Fiji. Nouns are divided into two classes, with or without a pronominal suffix, and the principle of division is the nearer or more remote connection between the possessor and possessed ; *e. g.*, the parts of a man's body would take the suffix, but not an article possessed for mere use. Gender is only sexual. Many nouns indiscriminately represent noun, adjective or verb, without change, but sometimes a noun is indicated by a preposition without any other change. Case is indicated by particles prefixed. Adjectives follow substantives. Pronouns are numerous, and the personal pronouns have four numbers, singular, dual, trinal, and plural, also exclusive and inclusive. Almost any word may be used as a verb by adding a particle. The common characteristic of all is to mark tense and mood, and in some languages, person and number, by particles prefixed. These particles vary in the different languages ; they have a causative, intensive, frequentative, and reciprocal form.

We hear of no legends. The people are cruel, cannibals, and revengeful, but they have been cruelly used by Europeans, and are justified in their retaliation.

I have already noted that within the geographical area of Melanesia are several Polynesian settlements ; how they got there can only be imagined. A storm, or a tribal feud, may have been the cause, and in two cases, Uvea of the Loyalty Islands, and Futuna of the New Hebrides, the name and the language indicate the islands whence the immigrants came. Uvea, or Wallis I, and Futuna or Horne Island lie to the west of the Navigator's Islands. But in the New Hebrides, the islands of Aniwa and a portion of Mai, the little islands of Mel and Fil, and in the more northerly groups Duff I, Swallow I, Tucopia I, Cherry I, Reynell and Bellina I, Outang Java, and Seneneuwa,

are occupied by inhabitants whose speech betrays their origin. The Polynesian blood is sometimes quite pure. Sometimes the brown Polynesian mother, taken captive by the black savage, has produced a mixed race. Sometimes the brown color has given way entirely, and the Polynesian language is spoken by an entirely black Melanesian.

I now approach the third region, Mikronesia: it extends over a large area, from  $130^{\circ}$  to  $180^{\circ}$  east longitude, and  $20^{\circ}$  north latitude to the equator, but it embraces groups of very unimportant and small islands. Singularly enough, they are exceedingly populous, and have escaped, up to this time, the curses of civilisation: slavery, man-stealing, liquor-shops, and infectious diseases. The people are gentle and sociable, and have never practised cannibalism or human sacrifice. Only fourteen languages are recorded. Of these, five are represented by translations of the Bible; the remainder by vocabularies; none by grammars. Proceeding eastward from the confines of Malaysia we reach Tobi, or Lord North's I, and further on, Pelew Islands, to which Prince Le Boo of last century has given a notoriety; and thence the Ladrões or Marianne group, of which there is reason to believe that all the native languages have perished, and that one of the languages of the Philippine Islands is now current. We have vocabularies collected by travellers, or shipwrecked sailors. In the more important group of the Caroline Islands, we have information of six languages, four of which are represented by vocabularies, Yap, Mackenzie, *alias* Uluthi, Ualan, and Satawal, and two by texts, the Ponape and Kusai: we know nothing of their relation to each other. Passing eastward, we reach the Mortlock Islands, the language of which is represented by a text, and further on the Marshall Islands, known as the Ralak and Radak Islands, of which one language, the Mille, is represented by a vocabulary, and a second, the Ebon, by a text. Proceeding southward, we reach the group of the Kingsmill or Gilbert Islands; one language without a special name is represented by a text; a language named Tarawan has been recorded and has a vocabulary, but possibly it is identical; one island of the Union group has been colonised by Mikronesians. This completes our knowledge of the region.

The characteristics of these languages are nearly the same as those of the Polynesian family. Close syllables are common, and occasionally double consonants are used with a slight breathing between them; the accent generally falls upon the penultimate. In some of the languages there is no article, and when it exists, it is placed after the noun. Gender is sexual only. The number is left to be inferred from the context, or is expressed by a pronominal word, or a numeral. Case is marked

by position or past position. In Ebon, one class of nouns takes a pronominal suffix which gives the appearance of inflexion. This class has the sense of close relationship. Words can be used as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, without change of form. In some languages the personal pronoun can be singular, dual, or plural. In others there are special dual forms. In the Ebon there are special inclusive and exclusive forms of the personal pronoun. Verbs have no inflexion to express mood, voice, or tense, but use particles. In Ebon, however, the tenses are distinctly marked. There are causative, intensive, and reciprocal forms of the verb. Words of ceremony are used in some of the languages, and there are special words for religious functions. The syllables, which occur in the names of Chiefs, are disused.

The fourth region of Oceania, Australia, presents phenomena totally different from those hitherto described. Of its two sub-regions, one, Tasmania, has lost its position in the linguistic world, as the last indigenous inhabitants have perished, and the scanty memorials of its languages and dialects are merely of archæological interest, and in fact no text has survived to show what the language was. In the second sub-region, Australia, the same causes are in operation, and will probably lead to the same result. European civilisation will have its way, either in the destruction of the race, or the treading out of the language. It is supposed that at least sixty thousand natives still survive in different corners of this vast continent-island, and probably that number exceeds the population of Polynesia, but the environment of the Australian is an unfortunate one. Even the missionary has been found wanting to care for these poor scattered and harrowed sheep.

Many noble men and women can speak the language of Samoa, or Fiji, Aneityum, or Mota, but not one a single Australian language. Where any missionary work is done, it is in the English language. In New Guinea our knowledge of the tribes and languages is incomplete, because the interior has not been explored, but the whole of Australia has been occupied, and the natives pushed aside, or out of the world.

If we can believe our informants, the ways of immorality are different here from those of other parts of the world. If the European consorts with a native female of Asia or Africa, a mixed race springs up, nearly always Christians, and certainly superior in culture to the pure natives. But in Australia, the unhappy woman impregnated by a European, takes her offspring back to her tribe, and there have come into existence mixed races more savage, more daring, and more wild than their maternal relations. In some such way wolf-dogs have come into existence. It is asserted, with some show of probability,

that all the languages of Australia spring from one common source, and the same is said of the tribes. A long list of eighty-two varieties of languages and tribes is given in Wallace's *Australasia*, and, in a general way, they are marked off into regions, but the natives in Australia so entirely go for nothing, and the native shepherd is so far less valuable than the sheep, that the idea of preparing a language map of Australia seems never to have been entertained. One translation of a Gospel was printed in the Narringéri, but the edition has been exhausted, and no demand made for a reprint. I have failed in getting a copy. Some grammars and vocabularies have been compiled, and, in general, books on philology; an analysis of these passes muster for a representation of Australian languages, but I cannot realise the problem of the speech of the people in Australia, even as clearly and hopefully as I do in New Guinea, with all the shortcomings of our knowledge.

When we come to consider the proofs of the unity of these languages as a family, we find a general accordance in phonetics, as evidenced by the universal rejection of sibilants. There is a common stock of primitive words, such as members of the body, objects of general utility, and personal pronouns. We find in all an imperfect conception of number, and the uniform use of the same word for "two." We find in all, dual suffixes, and duplicate terms for the same object. On the other hand, there are tremendous differences in the word-store of adjacent tribes. We cannot forget that in the last generation African languages were spoken of as a unit, but we know better now. The theory of a connection of the typical Australian language with the Dravidian languages of South India, may be looked upon as problematical, and certainly premature. All the languages known are agglutinative; they have no relative pronoun, or article, and only sexual gender. The accent falls generally on the penultimate. There is an extensive use of onomatopoeic words. The perfection of the language, as a language, is a contrast to the barbarous degradation of the people as a people; but this is not an uncommon phenomenon in linguistic science. The construction of sentences is very complex, and some of the sentences are not capable of literal translation, and have to be paraphrased. It is much to be regretted that the study of these languages has been so much neglected, as the Australians occupy, in the company of the bushmen of South Africa, the lowest rounds in the ladder of human culture, and the logical arrangement of thought, as represented by their word-forms, and the sentence-moulds supply unequalled insight into the working of the human mind; and thus only can we feel our way to the origin of language.

The Australian race of men is as isolated from the rest of

the world as are the fauna and flora of the region. They differ in physical characteristics, and have black hair, curly, but not woolly; their mental qualities are decidedly inferior to those of other savage races; their skin is black and offensive in smell; they are great hunters, and sometimes a talent for the art of rude drawing is exhibited: they were cannibals from choice rather than necessity; they are entirely ignorant of the use of the bow and arrow, but have the speciality of the boomerang and the throwing stick: they had no religion, but that of ghosts and demons. It is obvious that a great deal more has to be done to give an exhaustive statement of the languages of Oceania, and I can only repeat, what I have often written before, that until accurate data of all the languages of the world are collected and collated, all speculations as to the origin of language itself are premature. Speculations as to affinities of these languages of Oceania with those of the rest of the world seem to be hazardous, as we have no written records to guide us. The existence of the English language as the vernacular of Pitcairn Island, would have presented a hopeless puzzle, and a fertile nucleus of philological guesses, if the story of the "Mutiny of the Bounty" had not been a part of written history. Many a mutiny, many a storm and shipwreck, has contributed its quota to the population of these islands during the long course of prehistoric centuries, but the brave men who founded the new colony are like those who lived before Agamemnon. Even in these last ages the results of the working of commercial instinct have been marvellous. The islands of Melanesia had once an unbounded supply of sandal-wood, and have still an inexhaustible supply of a slug called "Beche de Mer." The wood was required for the Chinese joss-worship, and the slug for Chinese belly-worship, and Englishmen and Americans from their distant homes were the agents in this really degrading commerce. There is still an English patois current in the islands known as "Beche de Mer" English, and it is amusing to read in a Frenchman's account of New Caledonia, that he had to communicate with the natives in this choice patois, in which Frenchmen are always spoken of as "Wee Wee," and God as "a big fellow," both terms being used in good faith and with profound respect. Englishmen are spoken of as "Dimdins" from the recurrence in their speech of the national oath, and it is noteworthy that Froissart in his account of the battle of Agincourt, A D 1405, describes them under the term "Goddams." The French colonial system is everywhere to make use of their own language as the test of loyalty, but they will have in Oceania a hopeless fight against English in its innate freedom from the shackles of grammatical

inflection, gender and number, and its power of assimilation of foreign words. Bishop Selwyn (the elder) used to say that the first European words known in the New Hebrides were "bishop" and "tobacco." The schoolmaster is abroad now. It can scarcely be expected that the dying languages of these dying races will survive under the pressure of the great world vernacular, English, which in the next generation will be spoken by hundreds of millions of every race, colour, creed and nationality in every part of the world.

For the present the different vernaculars of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Mikronesia are the vehicles of a large religious and educational literature. All the story books and devotional works, including lives of saints and Moody's hymns, find their way into Oceania word-forms. It is to be feared that the mushroom literary language, which thus springs up under the hurried and uncritical prentice-hands of good and earnest men, is not calculated to convey a clear idea of the primitive simplicity of the forms of speech which flow undefiled from the lips of men. It could have been wished that more legends and stories had been taken down verbatim from the mouths of the people gathered together in social intercourse, than translations of a book written in a totally different type of language, and transferred to another, fettered by theological interpretations and prepossessions. Unless the translator had caught the real genius of the language, not only the form of words actually in existence, but its undeveloped power of providing for the expression of new ideas out of its own plastic resources, it is to be feared, that new and foreign unsympathetic phrases, idioms, and even grammatical forms, may have been introduced by a single translator working in his study with the aid of a couple of catechists, brought up in his own schools, and not exposed to the candid criticism of an independent audience, or the fiery attacks of a public press. What would have been the fate of Hindi and Urdu had they been left to the English Judge in those wonderful compositions called "Decrees," and his writer of "Proceedings." It is stated that old men in Oceania converse with one another in an idiom no more understood by their children trained in the mission school, than are the words of an old Manx woman in the Isle of Man, by her grandchildren in the English-speaking board schools.

All these islands are either volcanic or coral-formations. From whatever quarter of the world came the wave of population, by the way of the sea it must have come, and there is no difficulty in realising this last feature of the process. A vessel could traverse the whole distance between New Guinea and Easter Island without being more than five or six days



out of sight of land. Even to the present time canoes accomplish almost incredible voyages. By the way of the sea in due course came the explorers, who revealed the secrets of these sealed gardens of the ocean, the Missionaries who came to bring light to those who were sitting in darkness, the merchants who brought the liquor-poison to destroy these races, the plantation-owners who came to steal the bodies of the men, and lastly the agents of European Governments, who came to annex these poor islands to distant empires, or to quarrel with each other about these crumbs which had fallen from the table of the great old world. Let us consider each class in order: Unquestionably Torres and Mendána, the Spaniards in 1568, Tasman, the Dutchman 1645, and Bougainville the Frenchman, 1768, lead the way; but Captain Cook, the great English navigator, 1770, was the first who explored the region from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, from Tahiti to Australia. To him succeeded the unfortunate La Perouse who perished in 1788, at Vanikoro, though his fate remained for many years a mystery, until Dillon, a captain of a merchantman persuaded the Government of Bengal to give him the command of a vessel to follow up a track which led to the discovery. In the interim D'Entrecasteaux and Baudin had been sent by the French to search, but had himself perished. Dumont D'Urville in 1827 followed Dillon to the scene of La Perouse's disaster, and conducted the famous exploratory voyage of the *Astrolabo*. Captain Wilkes of the United States navy made his famous voyage of exploration. By this time the English colonies were being established in Australia and New Zealand, and Oceania had ceased to be a region for explorers. French writers complain with justice that they took a large share of the early explorations with but scant result. The Spaniards and Dutch, who were still earlier in the field, and whose memory still lives in so many names, have nothing but those names to compensate them for the labor, and the lives, and the deaths of their great countrymen.

To the explorers succeeded, at a very early date, the Missionaries. Towards the close of the last century, the London Missionary Society sent out its famous expedition in the *Duff*, under John Williams, which found its way round Cape Horn to the Society Islands, and established itself in the different groups of eastern Polynesia. It was a long work of faith and patient waiting. From Polynesia they spread into Melanesia, and John Williams was killed in Erromanga. They occupied the Loyalty Islands, and in the fulness of time finding that the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands were occupied by other societies, they pushed on to the South Coast of New Guinea and the islands of Torres Straits and occupied it in force.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society was not slack in following the steps of the sister society and occupying the Friendly Islands, the Navigator's Islands, New Zealand, and the Fiji Archipelago. Their basis of operations was from Sydney in New South Wales; and in due course of time they sent out pioneer missions to the island of New Britain, and the Duke of York's Islands on the north-east coast of New Guinea.

The Church of England, through the Church Missionary Society, sent the first Christian evangelists from Sydney to New Zealand, and after the expenditure of lives and treasure, made a lasting impression upon the Maori inhabitants. From New Zealand sprang into existence the romantic and chivalric Melanesian Mission, with their head-quarters at Norfolk Island; and operating thence upon the northern portion of the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and the smaller groups of Santa Cruz and Swallow Islands. Here fell one of the missionary heroes of modern times, Bishop Patteson.

The Presbyterian churches of Australia and Canada, uniting with the Free Church of Scotland, occupied the southern islands of the New Hebrides, and prosecuted their quiet labors. In the fatal island of Erromanga, hallowed by the blood of John Williams, at a later period fell the two brothers Gordon of Canada, and the wife of the elder brother; all three were cruelly massacred and devoured. Each one of the Protestant churches of Great Britain has not hesitated to seal their faith with the blood of their agents, demanding no revenge, seeking for no compensation, counting not their lives dear, that they might finish their course with joy.

The Lutheran church of Holland has for a long period had a mission of devoted men in Geeloinck Bay at the north-west corner of New Guinea, working among the Mafur; and now in that portion of the island which has come under the protectorate of Germany, no less than three German missions are being organised. North of the equator, the American Board of Missions has successfully evangelized the Sandwich Islands, and those spreading westwards have founded missions in the Gilbert Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Caroline Islands.

It is to the missionaries of these great societies of Great Britain, its Colonies, and the United States of North America, that we are indebted for our knowledge of the languages of these vast ocean-regions. Translations of the Holy Scriptures,—the whole or portions—have been published in more than twenty of these languages. Tribes in a state of savage nudity have been brought under the blessed influence of Gospel civilisation. Cannibalism, human sacrifices, witchcraft, child-murders have disappeared, and in their places the habit of

decent living, and industrious bread-earning, in lawful occupations, is gradually springing up.

To the emissaries of the Church of Rome the group of the Marquesas, New Caledonia, and the tiny islands of Horne and Wallis, *alias* Uvea and Futuna fell, in the original chance occupation. Their object has ever been to exclude free thought and independent judgment ; and while excluding, *per fas aut nefas* all Protestants from their close presence to elevate the, to them, fictitious cry of tolerance, and do their best to disturb the peace of the Protestant congregations. Dependent always on the civil power, we find the French priest, ever an intriguer for French domination, doing his best to prevent Protestants maintaining themselves in French islands. On the other hand, they thanklessly use to the uttermost, the glorious liberty and toleration which is the characteristic of every British dependency. In Western Australia, Spanish priests maintain an excellent institution for the natives at New Nurrie to the great satisfaction of all. Some have laid down their lives gallantly for the great cause. All who have the interests of the lower races at heart, would welcome even the degraded form of Christianity presented by the priests to the poor natives in the shape of crosses and Latin prayers and genuflections, because it is accompanied by lessons of morality, chastity, and acts of kindness ; but the French priest has the art everywhere of preaching not the religion of Christ, but the religion of France, accompanied by false miracles, idle legends, purchase of slave children, wherever it is feasible, and never ceasing abuse of England and Protestantism.

After the explorers and the missionaries came the European colonist and European Governments, and in these last days, led on by Germany, there has been a regular scramble. Great Britain has annexed the whole of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, the southern coast of New Guinea up to the 140th degree of east longitude ; the Fiji Archipelago including Rotuma, and—by a late treaty with Germany—the southern islands of the Solomon group are declared to be within “the sphere of her influence,” a precious new phrase to define the limits of plundering, as if a gang of thieves were to divide the parishes of London into different spheres of predatory influence. France has annexed New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, the Marquesas group and the Society Islands, and the little Islands of Horne and Wallis. France covets the southern portion of the New Hebrides, and no doubt we shall soon hear of that group being divided into spheres of British and French influence. Germany has annexed the northern portion of New Guinea, east of the 141st degree of east Longitude, the islands of New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover, and the

Admiralty Islands, and the northern portion of the Solomon group, and the Gilbert Islands, and Marshall Islands of Mikronesia have come within the sphere of her influence. Holland is considered the protector of New Guinea west of the 141st degree of east longitude, and the adjacent islands. Spain maintains her hold upon the Caroline Islands and the Ladrões. The Sandwich Islands and the Navigator's group preserve an independence under the guarantee of Great Britain and the United States; but the other groups not mentioned are in a precarious state, and will fall under some great power. It is only to be hoped that the South American Republics may be compelled to keep their hands off. It is bad enough for poor hunted game to fall into the jaws of great lions; but to be the prey of miserable jackals, appears to be insult added to injury.

It is my deliberate opinion, though it is arrived at with sadness, that European civilisation presents itself to races in a low state of culture with such frightful concomitants, that it is better for them not to have known it. For many years these islands were the refuges of runaway sailors from merchant vessels, deserters from the navy, men tainted with crime, dissolute in habits. They settled among the natives, became worse than they, made them worse than they were, teaching them new arts, new vices, new crimes. In process of time came the man-stealing vessels from Queensland, Fiji, and even Peru. Men were decoyed on board vessels, thrown into the hold and kidnapped. Sometimes one of the crew was dressed up to resemble a well-known missionary or a bishop, so as to disarm suspicion. In this way whole islands were depopulated of their males. Some languages have actually ceased to be spoken; a bitter sense of wrong has been engendered in the minds of survivors and neighbours, venting itself in cruelty upon innocent Europeans, and, when the laborer returns to his island, he comes back a changed, but not improved, man; he is supplied with firearms and powder; he has acquired vices, and the compound savagery of the low European outcast; he has learned no useful trade or manufacture, or method of agriculture; he comes back to find his wife remarried, as it was naturally supposed that he was dead; he has a sense of wrong, and the means of avenging it, and he avails himself of the opportunity.

Ships of war have been sent on cruises, and some commanders have made rough and ready investigations and spoken kind words: others have cannonaded villages accessible to the sea: the liquor dealer has brought his deadly wares for barter with native products, and taught new and deadly tastes. Can it be a matter of surprise that, under all such influences, the

population has wasted away? A ship arrives from Sydney with a few cases of small pox or measles on board : no attempt is made to protect the people from the risk of infection : to these races infectious diseases, which have become hereditary, and therefore under control among Europeans, are totally unknown; both in their symptoms and their remedies. In Fiji 50,000 died of the measles, for when the first feverish eruption manifested itself, they rushed into the sea, and this meant death, as the cold water drove the eruption inwards. Many of the established customs and modes of life familiar to Europeans seem calculated to be destructive to these islanders, and many of their own customs lead to the same effect : even the adoption of European garments unsuited to the climate leads to diseases, and it is notorious that after commerce with a European, a native woman becomes barren when united to one of her countrymen. Of the fact of the gradual decay and the certainty of eventual extinction within a calculable period, there can be no doubt.

I quote some lines from Bishop Patteson's Journal :—" How " I think of those islands ! How I see those bright coral and " sandy beaches, strips of burning sunshine, fringing the masses " of forest rising into ridges of little hills covered with a " dense mass of vegetation. Hundreds of people are crowd- " ing upon them, naked, armed, with uncouth cries and ges- " tures. I cannot talk to them but by signs ; but they are my " children *now*. May God enable me to do my duty to them " !!! And yet, maddened by the cruelties of the man-stealers they slew him. Some of the islands consist of chains of lofty mountains. On some are volcanoes always in a state of eruption : some islands are low—low as the level of the sea : the trees seem growing out of the water : some are mere atolls, circles of corals round an internal lake, always at peace, while the sea is raging round. Some of the islands are girt with barrier reefs framed of coral : in others, the islands themselves are reefs of coral.

The early discoverers, the chance visitors, and the later residents, seem never to weary in the description of the marvellous beauties of these wondrous islands, shrouded for so many centuries from the knowledge both of the ancient and modern world. The Greek and the Roman geographers had speculated on the existence of an antarctic continent, and the poets of both nations had dreamt of the Fortunate Islands, where nature produced sustenance without labour ; but these secrets were not revealed until the hour had come, and the veil was lifted up which had covered this galaxy of islands studing the Pacific, and the existence of tribes, languages, and customs, was revealed in all the virgin freshness and novelty

of a totally different culture, unconscious of the discipline of centuries which had hardened and refined Asiatic and European nations. Still there were found among them some men capable of being degraded to the level of evil demons, and others of being elevated to the dignity of becoming faithful Christians. On no part of the world has the awful life-giving power of the Gospel been so manifested by its work on the unredeemed soul as is disclosed in the narratives of all Protestant and Roman Catholic Missionaries in these regions. It was given to these islanders to develop the high sublimity of the native teacher system, and to graft a tree, which could produce confessors and martyrs upon a stock which had previously produced nothing but idolaters stained with human blood, and cannibals. The history of the great possibilities of the human race would have been incomplete, had we not in these last days been informed, that converted cannibals had won the love and esteem of British Missionaries both before and after their conversion. The divinity of the Gospel would not have been entirely appreciated, had we never read of the dauntless Polynesian islanders, accompanied by their brave and faithful Christian wives, with their own free will being landed on the coasts of an island of bloody savages knowing that there were but two alternatives—either to be killed and devoured long before the mission-ship returned next year, or by the grace of God working through their feeble speech and humble, steadfast example, to obtain such an influence over the savages as to transform them into new men, teaching the men to be strong without being cruel, and the women to be loving and tender and yet not unchaste. And they succeeded: they taught their countrymen to cover their nakedness, leave off their bad habits, submit to the laws of monogamy, tear down their idols of wood and stone, and elevate the sign of the cross, and so love the Bible, faithfully rendered in their own beautiful language, that neither Giant-Pagan in Madagascar, nor Giant-Pope in Tahiti could tear it from their hands and hearts. The heart wakes up in a glad surprise when it reads of such things. All those who were engaged in this blessed work sing the same triumphant psalm. The same undercurrent of music of thanksgiving is heard in all their narratives.

Without doubt, those who love their Master, and believe His precious promises, will rejoice when even one poor island, after expenditure of labour and precious lives, is added to His kingdom. The value of redeemed souls is not estimated in earthly balances, or by human calculations. The Lord knoweth them that are His. But it is a cause of encouragement for the future and thanksgiving for the past, to regard—

this blessed chain of missions spread like a necklace of pearls from the shores of New Guinea and Australia right up to the gates of the morning in Eastern Island, almost within touch of South America. Our knowledge of the languages and customs of these races has been collected solely by the Missonaries. The civilization of these ends of the world was not to be accomplished by guns or ships of war. Commerce, statecraft, or colonization would not help these helpless races for the short period of existence left to them by the ruthless law of progress : it has rather aided their destruction by substituting rum, gunpowder, and loathsome diseases, cannibalism, human sacrifices and witchcraft. But the Missionary spirit of Europe and America has proved equal to the occasion, and a voice stronger than that of the lust of gold, earth-greed, and annexation has been heard. Instead of seeking for gold, the true-hearted Missionary has given something better than fine gold : instead of sending out foreign governors and captains to rule over these tribes, a domination for good has been established over their souls by men of their own colour and race, but who have been transformed into angels of light by the life-giving influences of the Holy Spirit. Instead of attempting to annex these far off islands to an earthly kingdom, the messengers of good tidings have given to these inhabitants of the ends of the world an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven. A stream of light has been left on the waters to mark the course of the mission ship, the light of human knowledge, Christian culture, and divine pardon. The one great object of human existence is to discover the knowledge of God's dealings with His creatures, and the one great duty of those creatures is to love, honour and worship that great Creator, no longer unknown. This object has been attained : this duty has been performed. *Laus Deo !*

ROBERT CUST.

LONDON, *May* 5, 1887.

## ART. II.—THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPLYING FEMALE MEDICAL AID TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

### I.—A HISTORY OF MEDICAL WORK, DONE PRIOR TO THE ORGA- NISATION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

**A**T a meeting held at the Mansion House, London, in the early part of 1886 for the purpose of assisting Lady Dufferin's scheme for medical aid to the women of India, Lord Hobhouse made manifest his ignorance of the qualifications of medical ladies by claiming that the Indian Association was the only agency for providing fully qualified medical practitioners for the women of India. He said :—

Some ladies have been sent out by the zealous missionary bodies in England and America who have practised medicine with a considerable amount of skill, though far from possessing a full professional equipment.

The honor in this instance belongs to the American Missionary Societies and the Indian Female Normal School Society. America was the first country to open the medical profession to women. As long ago as 1851, the Ladies' Medical Missionary Society was organised in Philadelphia, with the object of aiding foreign missions by sending out unmarried ladies qualified as physicians for their own sex. Two young lady graduates of this institution were desirous of entering foreign mission service, but no American Missionary Boards were then prepared to send unmarried women abroad.

In 1868, the Woman's Union Missionary Society entertained the idea of sending out ladies who had received a thorough medical education. The first regularly graduated woman medical missionary was selected by this Society to go to Asia, and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had the honor of sending Miss Clara A. Swain, M. D., who reached India in 1869. The first woman physician with a diploma who ever set foot in Asia.

Long before England was willing to grant professional certificates to women, the Indian Female Normal School Society sent a lady to Lucknow, who did admirably work. Miss Beilby, whose name will ever be associated with the organisation of the "National Association."

In England, the London Society of Medicine for Women was opened in 1876, because the University of Edinburgh was closed to women.

An Act was passed in 1876 which empowered all Medical



Boards to admit women, and the initiative was taken by the Irish College of Physicians, which, during the following seven years, graduated 38 women with diplomas. Miss A. Marston, of Lucknow, is a graduate of this College. The University of London agreed to admit women to degrees in 1878.

For seventeen years medical women from America and England have been administering medical aid to the women of India. Hospitals have been founded, dispensaries built, native girls and women educated in medical science, and systematic treatment in the zenanas has been carried on. The ladies who pioneered this great work, who are the primary cause of the grand movement of to day, known as the "National Association," are representatives of Christian churches, missionaries of the Christian religion. Both good and lasting work has been done by these medical missions, but the great mass of the women in the zenanas are left without medical assistance. Missionary societies were not able to supply professional ladies for all the cities, a complete system of medical aid for the women of India could not be carried on without the training and educating of great numbers of Native women, and so this great "National Association" was inaugurated, which will supply all India with medical assistance without interfering with the religious beliefs and customs of the people who are treated.

In the history of the world there has never, perhaps, been inaugurated such a scheme of mercy, sympathy, and love as is found in the "National Association." There certainly is no other land on the face of the globe where could be found such an opportunity for relieving pain and suffering as is afforded in the secluded *zenanas*, behind the *pardah*, in India. From the *Rani* in her marble palace, from the *Begum* in her wealthy home, as well as from the wife of the merchant and the mechanic, comes the cry of need.

We are always interested in the beginnings of things, and the thoughtful person whose heart is open to the needs of the suffering, whose eyes see farther than the mere exterior of this vast land in which we sojourn, cannot refrain from asking, Who was the first to undertake such a wonderful movement? whose aching heart first gave birth to such a merciful idea? whose tongue first gave utterance to such a noble inspiration? whose hand first touched the chord that has sent this loving thought vibrating round the world?

## II.—THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE ORGANISATION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Many may be surprised to know that from the depths of a suffering *Rani's* heart this great Association has burst into life. Doomed to confinement, although in a royal palace,

tortured by a painful disease which nothing but skill and tender nursing could alleviate, and that skill not available on account of the seclusion, to which custom has doomed all native ladies there arose in the heart of this native queen a great desire not only to be helped and relieved of her own suffering, but that all her Indian sisters might also share with her the great boon.

This lady was the Maharani of Punna. During the year 1881, while Miss Beilby was carrying on her medical work in the city of Lucknow, she was summoned by the Maharaja of Punna to the *zenana* of his suffering wife. Miss Beilby, whose heart had often been touched by the woes and pain of the women who crowded her hospital and dispensary, saw in this invitation a possible opportunity for enlisting the interest of the higher classes of India in medical aid for women, and did not refuse to undertake this new-found duty: she at once started on her journey of near a hundred miles. For weeks she remained in this city, the only European there. She devoted herself to the sick lady with her usual skill, and was repaid in her complete recovery. About this time Miss Beilby was arranging to return to England to take a degree in a regular Medical College. The *Rani* was aware of this fact, and could no longer refrain from making her great desire known to the physician who had so greatly relieved her.

On the morning of her departure from Punna, Miss Beilby went to the palace to say farewell to her royal patient. On her arrival, the Maharani dismissed all her ladies and attendants so that she might be quite alone with Miss Beilby. Her Highness then said: "You are going to England, and I want you to tell the Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the men and the women in England, what the women in India suffer when they are sick. Will you promise me?" She explained that it was no social change in their condition she sought, but relief from their cruel sufferings. She charged Miss Beilby herself to give this message to the great Queen of England.

Miss Beilby then represented the great difficulty she would have in getting access to the Queen. "But," said the Maharani, "did you not tell me that our Queen was good and gracious; that she never heard of sorrow without sending a message to say how sorry she was, and trying to help?" Miss Beilby felt she could no longer refuse to convey the message, if possible. The Maharani next bade her write it down at once, adding, "Write it small, doctor Miss Sahiba, for I want to put it into a locket, and you are to wear this locket round your neck till you see our great Queen and give it to her yourself: you are not to send it through another."

Miss Beilby reached England, where the Queen, having been

told by some of the ladies of the Court of her work and message, determined, in spite of difficulties and many engagements, to see her and hear all for herself, and accordingly sent for her. Her Majesty listened with great interest, asking many questions, and showing the deepest sympathy. Turning to her ladies she said: "We had no idea it was as bad as this; something must be done for these poor creatures." The locket, with its written message, was given to the Queen, and her Majesty entrusted Miss Beilby with a message in reply.

But the Queen also gave her a message which might be given to every one with whom she spoke on the subject of these poor suffering Indian ladies: "We should wish it generally known that we sympathise with every effort made to relieve the suffering state of the women of India."\*

From this time the sufferings of the women of India in sickness have attracted much attention in England, which has culminated in this National Association for their relief. In the years to come, when all over India there shall be found Native women with trained and educated minds, skilled fingers, clearly understanding the duties of midwifery and surgery, with a practical knowledge of medicine; women "clothed and in their right minds" to take the places of the hideous midwives now found in the *zenanas*, praise may be awarded to that delicate suffering inmate of the Punna palace, who pleaded with tearful eyes the cause of her Indian sisters: from out of her tearful petition has emerged this great "National Association."

### III.—THE ORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

In the month of August 1885, at the seat of Government in Simla, the Association was organised. Lady Dufferin, who had been requested by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, when leaving for India, to do what she might find in her power in this direction, was made President of the Society; the Viceroy was made Patron; and Her Majesty the Queen-Empress telegraphed her willingness to be the Royal Patron of the Association.

The aims and objects of the Association are as follows:—

It is proposed to form a "National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India." The need of an organisation of this kind is generally admitted by all who are conversant with the facts. Something has already been done by private charity and religious zeal, as well as by Government and local boards, to supply in the wards of hospitals and within the private houses of well-to-do natives that medical care and advice which the women of the country will generally accept only from their own sex. But it is necessary, if any material improvement is to be effected in the condition of native women throughout India, that a large and sustained effort of an unsectarian and national character should be

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\* "Our Eastern Sisters:" pp. 180-83.

made to organise and stimulate female medical education, and to provide facilities for the treatment of native women by women. This will be the aim and object of the "National Association" now proposed to be founded. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has graciously consented to be Patron of the Association.

The objects which the Association is designed to promote are—(1) medical tuition; (2) medical relief; (3) the supply of trained female nurses and midwives.

That the movement has been rewarded with a large measure of success will be seen in the organisation of the numerous branches, showing that from the Himalayas to the sea, the people of the Empire, both European and Native, have looked with favor upon the establishment of this Association.

The first general meeting of the Association was held in Calcutta on the 27th January 1886. His Excellency the Viceroy presided, and, in opening the meeting, said—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not remember ever having taken part in any public proceedings with greater pleasure than I now experience in presiding over this meeting, one of the most important, perhaps, that has ever been held in India, and upon the successful issue of which a vast amount of human happiness is dependent. . . . The object of our present effort is to found an Association, which in its ultimate development shall supply the women of the land, from one end of it to the other, with proper medical advice and attendance under conditions consonant to their own most cherished ideas, feelings, and wishes; and in considering this object, we must remember that in some respects the maintenance of a high average standard of health amongst the women of the country is even more important than that of doing so amongst the men. The sickness of a man may indeed mean loss of employment and many distressing consequences, but the ill-health of the women of a household is tantamount to perpetual domestic wretchedness and discomfort, as well as degradation in the strength and virility of subsequent generations. . . . Our ambition is eventually to furnish every district, no matter how remote, if not with a supply of highly trained female doctors, at all events with nurses, midwives, and female assistants, who shall have such an acquaintance with their business so as to be a great improvement upon those who are now employed.

These are but a few of the many wise words uttered by the Viceroy, and that his sentiments found an echo in the hearts of all who heard him utter them, as well as in the hearts of those who read them, is illustrated by the manner in which all classes in India have responded to the closing appeal:—

I trust there is no one whom these words may reach who will not be willing to come to our assistance, to join with us in this noble work, and in their respective spheres to do their best to lighten the burden of physical misery by which, at this moment, and for ages past, the women of India have been oppressed.

#### IV.—THE RECOGNISED NEED OF THE ASSOCIATION.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has been kept informed in reference to the establishing of this Association .

that it is a *felt* need of the Native mind, even though not fully expressed. Enough has been said by Native gentlemen in high positions approving of the scheme to satisfy the public that the time has come, for those who have the power to use it, in advancing the cause which is so rapidly spreading over the Empire. In searching through the reports concerning the topic, of medical aid for women, it is found that even before the proposal for such an Association, there were Native ladies whose hearts had been moved to help in this matter. The Maharani Surnomoiye made a munificent gift of a lakh and a half of rupees for the founding of a hostel for medical relief for the women of Bengal. Mr. and Mrs. Amir Ali brought out a doctor from England to attend their family, and others might be cited.

At the inauguration of the N. W. P. and Oudh Branch of the Association, in Allahabad, January 23rd, 1886, Munshi Newal Kishore, of Lucknow, in speaking on this subject, said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—The undertaking for the promotion of which we are assembled here is intended, as you are aware, to provide female medical assistance for the women of India which, under the peculiar conditions of the country, is, I need scarcely say, a great desideratum. The Government, local boards and private charity have already done much toward the provision of hospitals, but as yet the females of India are bound by social laws to procure such treatment as they from time to time require from untrained members of their own sex. What we wish now to secure is a good medical education for female doctors, such as will enable them to treat their countrywomen with some confidence, and some reasonable hope of success.

In my tour through the country during the past six months, I found it everywhere felt that, what had already been provided in our Medical Colleges for male pupils should now be made available for female scholars, seeing our customs render it so often necessary for female doctors *only* to attend upon our countrywomen. Two questions on this point present themselves for consideration : (1) whether the time has arrived for female education ; and (2) whether the people will help themselves in this matter ? As regards the first, we have only to remember the patronage and interest accorded to this undertaking by the Queen-Empress to feel that the time for action has arrived.

Munshi Kashi Prasad at the same meeting said :—

The movement, taken in its abstract view, is calculated to do honor to any nation and in any country ; but looking to the circumstances and wants of India, it is here simply indispensable. I only wonder why the movement was not set on foot earlier by the people themselves. I rejoice to think that the future historian will record this as a great epoch in the civilisation of the women of India. I propose this Resolution :—“That this meeting, cordially approving of the objects for which this Association has been formed, and of the preliminary arrangements made for the furthering those objects in these Provinces and Oudh, pledges itself to support the plan of action sketched out by the Provisional Managing Committee.”

Dr. B. N. Banerjea said :—

As a medical man practising among the people of these Provinces, I know better, than many of you the practical difficulty of treating successfully

the *pardah-nashin* women. In the interior of the country, as well as in towns, women choose rather to die than disclose their complaints even to their husbands, much less to the medical men. It is for this reason that our women seldom, if ever, get thorough and systematic treatment during the time of their illness. . . . I beg to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that every Native of these Provinces feels grateful to Lady Dufferin and Lady Lyall for their solicitude on behalf of their poor and unfortunate Indian sisters.

These extracts, taken from the speeches of some of the leading Native gentlemen of India, are sufficient to show to what extent the people have been aroused, even in one short year, to the great need of this "Association."

There has been some adverse criticism upon the object of the promoters of the Association. The *Bombay Gazette* says:—

A portion of the Native press has commented, with strange want of discrimination, upon the movement for supplying the women of India with female medical attendance. The novelty of the enterprise will in part account for what, it may be hoped, is in some instances an honest misconception of its aims. Amongst such instances may be numbered the cases in which vernacular journalists have been unable to see in the enterprise anything beyond an endeavor to provide an opening in the country for the services of a number of European medical ladies. To such critics of the work, it ought to be a sufficient answer simply to ask them to turn to the ordinary sources of information to learn what it is that the Countess of Dufferin, and those who are working with her, have set before themselves. They will then see that it is an essential part of their purpose that the work shall be national, in the widest sense of the word, so that when they, "birds of passage," as they acknowledge themselves to be, have left the country, it shall be taken in hand by Native managers, and shall become a self-helping movement, directed by the leaders of the people for whose benefit it is intended.—(October 20, 1886).

There are those also who consider the organisation of this Association as a sentimental thing, without *real* need, *real* suffering for the basis of its foundation. But the eyes of the foreign world have long been open to the condition of the women in the *zenanas*, and now the eyes of the Indian world are opening to the realisation of the actual condition of its women. It takes but a cursory glance through reports which appear almost daily in our newspapers upon the subject to prove to the mind of the least believing, that India has awakened from its long slumber, and that a brighter day is dawning upon her daughters. As early in the history of the Association as January 1886, a noted Native gentleman said:—

Would you like to hear something from me about the condition of women in these parts. I am ashamed to acknowledge it, but it is simply lamentable. Owing to the most rigid observance of the *pardah* system, they have absolutely no out-of-door exercise; in fact, I have known of families, high families, especially in Oudh, where women are not allowed to go out alone after marriage even on a visit to their father's houses. With the exception of the working and laboring classes, it is no exaggeration to say that from eighty to ninety per cent. of our women live in a state of almost perpetual illness, from year's end to year's end. Being unable •

to secure the service of competent nurses during the most critical hours of their lives, they go on ailing, with little or no hope of recovery.

Pandit Ajudhiya Nath says :—

The sufferings of Native women, due to the customs of the country and ignorance of Native midwives, can be imagined better than described.

Raja Siva Prasad, C. S. I., says :—

Here is a new era which India is now entering into. The Hindus hitherto took their women as a part and parcel of their property : as goods and chattels. They could gamble them away, as Maharaja Yudhishthir did. They show their piety in building hospitals, like Pinjrapoles in Bombay and Calcutta, for mosquitoes, and for snakes and scorpions ; but if their mothers, who bore them and nursed them when helpless babies, are unfortunately attacked with some acute disease, they allow them to die a dog's death rather than expose them to a doctor's gaze or touch. When I told my dear sister of this benevolent scheme, and told her of Lady Dufferin's exertions to carry it out, she simply said : "How can I worship this lady with flowers and sandal wood ?"

His Excellency the Viceroy in one of his addresses said :—

Custom, decorum, the traditions, I will not say of immemorial ages, because I believe the expression would be historically incorrect, but of many generations, coupled with an instinctive delicacy of sentiment, which indeed is by no means absent in other countries, have more or less closed the doors of the *zenana* to the visits of properly qualified members of the medical profession. As a consequence, the duty of combating those terrible bodily afflictions to which women, even more than men, are liable, has necessarily fallen into the hands of a class of female practitioners, who, however great their deftness and zeal, are utterly incapable of fulfilling the heavy responsibilities imposed upon them, and whose modes of dealing with their patients at certain critical conjunctures are, I understand, of a deplorably clumsy and inefficient character.

Surgeon-Major Cleghorn says :—

My experience in the North-West Provinces as regards the particular customs so rigidly enforced among the native ladies is that, when Native women are at present stricken by disease, they have little or no hope, and have mainly to depend on inexperienced *dhais*, with insanitary surroundings. The only way to extend medical aid to the inmates of *zenanas* is by female agency.

Hundreds of testimonies from Native doctors and medical ladies now practising in India might be cited to bring before the public mind a clearer conception of the actual condition of women in the *zenanas* beyond the reach of the skill of the physician, but these will suffice to give an insight at least into the necessity of this National Association.

It has been an interesting study to watch the growth of this scheme during the few months since its organisation. To one who has a limited knowledge of the people, their customs, prejudices, traditions, caste ideas, religious scruples, and domestic seclusion, the onward march of such a movement is not remarkable ; but to the few who enter into the thought and

life of the Empire, who are interested in the physical salvation of a great nation, it is a marvellous achievement.

" Help here—and not for us the boon and not to us the gain—  
Make room to save the babe from death, the mother from her pain.  
Is it so great a thing, we ask ? Is there no road to find  
When women of our people seek to help your women kind ?

No word to sap their faith, no talk of Christ or creed need be,  
But woman's help in woman's need, and woman's ministry.  
Such healing as the West can give, that healing may they win,  
Draw back the *pardah* for their sakes, and let our women in !

## V.—RESUMÉ OF THE WORK ACCOMPLISHED BY THE SEVERAL BRANCHES.

### I.—*Panjab.*

The Panjab Branch was organised October 31, 1885. In October 1886 there were five Life Councillors, twenty Life Members, and about 200 ordinary Members, of whom one-half were natives. The Branch had an invested capital of Rs. 32,000 at five per cent., yielding Rs. 1,600 per annum : this, with contributed sums, gives a total income of Rs. 3,412, about Rs. 300 per month. A scholarship was founded in connection with the Lahore Medical College, costing Rs. 7,200. Rs. 840 were contributed to the Female Hospital at Lahore. Arrangements were made for translating medical works, and for the examination of native nurses, with certificates of qualification for those who distinguish themselves. Another medical lady is to be procured for Lahore. Scholarships are being provided for the Female School at Amritsar.

The *Civil and Military Gazette* says :—

The local development of the Dufferin Fund in Lahore is, or will be rather, the Lady Aitchison Hospital for Women. The Panjab Government have granted a site north-east of the Mayo Hospital, and near the city, for a building which is estimated to cost Rs. 60,000. So far, subscriptions amounting to about Rs. 27,000 have been received, Rai Mela Ram contributing no less than Rs. 15,000. A balance of Rs. 23,000 remains to be collected ; and the Panjab Government, in addition to Rs. 8,000 already voted, have guaranteed Rs. 5,000 extra, if the deficit be made up by private subscriptions.

Under date of March 15th, 1887, Dr. Beilby, the Honorary Secretary to the Lady Aitchison Hospital for Women, writes :—

Lady Aitchison, in addition to giving Rs. 500 to the funds of the Female Hospital, which is to bear her name, has generously sent a cheque for Rs. 2,500 to endow a bed. It is believed that the interest from Rs. 2,400 will be sufficient to maintain the bed ; but Lady Aitchison has thoughtfully given an additional Rs. 100 to buy the bed, bedding, &c. We shall lose a sincere friend and warm supporter when Lady Aitchison leaves the Province, and her place will not easily be filled ; but we trust many will follow her example. So far the Committee has much reason to



be thankful for the liberal way in which the public has come forward to give money towards the building of the hospital. Still, much remains to be done ; and it is hoped that while the hospital is being built, the endowment will be completed.

## 2.—*Central Provinces.*

The Central Provinces Branch has had much encouragement from the Raja of Rutlam, the Maharaja of Dhar, and the Maharaja of Perak. Several ladies have taken up the work with great interest. The Council of Regency and the Maharaja Holkar, have both promised assistance as far as in their power.

## 3.—*Madras.*

In January 1886, the Madras Branch received a gift of Rs. 10,000 from the Maharaja Gya Pattikao of Vizagapatam.

The Royal Victoria Hospital in Madras is one of the centres for training *dhais*.

The Madras Branch will lose a most efficient and energetic helper in Lady Grant Duff, who has left India. In her farewell address, made at the laying of the foundation stone of the Victoria Hospital for caste and *gosha* women in Madras, September 18th, 1886, her ladyship said :—

I have attempted to do something for the women of Madras, first from a sense of duty—a duty which soon became a labor of love. I have formed strong attachments, and in some cases made lifelong friendships. The dearest wish of my life here has been to be of some service to my Native friends ; that I have done so little, is its deepest regret."

## 4.—*Bengal Branch.*

During the month of September 1886, the attendance at the Calcutta Dispensary was 2,833, and the number of patients 697, of whom 23 were *pardah* women. The reports for the month of November following show a considerable increase in numbers. Three girls were in training as compounders.

On the 21st of March 1886 the Countess of Dufferin laid the corner stone of a Female Hospital and Dispensary which the Maharaja of Durbhunga is building at his own cost.

Sir Walter deSouza has made a gift of Rs. 200 per month for three years.

The deSouza grant maintains a nurse in the Sealdah Hospital. The High Priest of the temple of Badynath has offered two more scholarships. A dispensary has been established in Cuttack.

## 5.—*N. W. P. and Oudh.*

The North-West Provinces and Oudh Branch was inaugurated in the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, January 23, 1886. The Committee appointed to carry out the objects of the Association were :—Lady Lyall, Lady Petheram, Mrs. Kaye, Kunwarani Harnam

Singh, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Lang, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. H. Rose, Mrs. Straight, Mrs. Stehelin, Mrs. Wall, Mrs. W. Walker, Mrs. Woodburn, Mrs. White, Mrs. Leeds, Mrs. Higginson, Mrs. Cotterel Tupp, and Mrs. Rivett-Carnac.

The reports show that during the nine short months following the inauguration of this Branch, the Committee have not labored in vain. The programme to which they pledged themselves at that time has been successfully carried out.

The Female Hospital and Dispensary at Agra is fully planned and provided for; Rs. 30,000 were placed at the disposal of the architect. Aligarh, Etawa, and the Bar at Agra each contributed a private ward to the new building. A public ward to accommodate twelve patients was the gift of the Thakurani Sahiba of Kotta. Miss Fairweather, M. D., of Chicago, has been appointed to the new hospital. The pupils have increased from 6 to 60.

The hospital at Allahabad has been started, and is in charge of Miss Seward, M. D.

Lucknow was the last to respond to the call, but for that reason not the least. Munshi Newal Kishore has been unsparing in his efforts to arouse and educate native public opinion: he has given Rs. 15,000 to advance the cause. The Municipal Committee has also given a monthly subscription of Rs. 200.

The Bulrampur Hospital affords a grand field for the requisite training. Surgeon-Major Cleghorn is enthusiastic, hopeful and energetic in carrying out the plan for creating an institution at Lucknow for the training of native women as nurses. There is a large, well-ventilated ward for women in the Hospital, furnished with woven wire mattress cots, with wire screen doors, and all that could make a ward comfortable. A lecture room has been fitted up with carpets, tables, apparatus, surgical instruments, skeletons, and everything necessary for instruction.

A medical lady, just arrived from America, while examining the cases of glittering steel, spoke with enthusiasm as she said:—

"These are enough to *delight* the soul of a physician;" and as she walked through the clean ward for females, said: "I would like to begin my Indian practice right here.

The class under instruction in the Bulrampur Hospital now numbers eleven, eight Mahomedan and three Christian women. Dr. Cleghorn delivers the lectures in splendid Hindustani, as one of the class testifies. Mrs. Thompson, from the Calcutta Hospital, is in charge of the women, the female ward and the Home and Lying-in Hospital, which is a large building rented for the purpose only a step from the Hospital. This Lying-in Hospital is well furnished, neat and clean, and must open a new life to the minds of some of those women known as "native

midwives," who are utterly unacquainted with cleanliness, neatness, or order, to say nothing of their want of knowledge in their "profession."

Limited space will not admit of an extended report of the work done during the year by each Branch, nor are these reports available from which to cull important items; the *résumé* of the work done by the Central Fund Committee will, perhaps, be sufficient to show the work as a whole.

#### REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

From the second report of the National Association, as written by the Countess of Dufferin, the Lady President, the following extracts are taken. The report is dated January 12th, 1887:—

The Prince and Princess of Wales and their Excellencies the Governor of Madras and Lady Susan Bourke have become Vice-Patrons of the Association. It now numbers among its Members 30 Life Councillors, or donors of Rs. 5,000 and upwards, and 237 Life Members or donors of Rs. 500 and upwards. The donations of many of the Life Councillors and Life Members are paid into Branch funds, as are most of the smaller subscriptions of ordinary Members.

The Countess of Dufferin's Fund is administered by the Central Committee, which meets once a week in Calcutta, and once a month at Simla. The Minutes of the meetings are forwarded to those Members who are unable to be present. The Committee has during the year lost three of its original and most valued members—Sir Steuart Bayley, Mr. Ilbert, and Mr. Mackenzie. These gentlemen rendered the greatest service by their advice, and by the time and attention they invariably gave to everything connected with the business of the Association. Their places on the Committee have been taken by Mr. Peile, Sir A. Colvin, and Mr. A. P. McDonnell.

The Central Fund on the 18th of January 1886 brought forward a balance of Rs. 1,46,188. Since that date Rs. 76,109 have been received, raising the capital sum to Rs. 2,22,297. Of this money, Rs. 14,575 have been spent on the objects of the Association, 1½ lakh has been invested in 5 per cent. Calcutta Municipal Debentures, and half a lakh in 4½ per cent. Government Securities. An additional sum of £641 was paid into Coutts' Bank, London, and of this £212 has been expended.

The annual income of the Central Fund, as estimated on 1st January, is about Rs. 19,450, which is partly made up of Rs. 9,750 interest on investments, of Rs. 2,700 from annual subscribers, and of a sum contributed by the Branches, which this year amounted to Rs. 2,700.

In addition to this the Central Fund receives Rs. 2,400 a year interest; but as this money has to be devoted to special objects designated by the donors, it can scarcely be considered as part of the regular income which the Central Fund has at its disposal. £600 of the money collected in England was kept there, and used as a Fund from which to supply the passage-money of ladies coming out to India in connection with the Association.

The first object of the National Association is to give *medical tuition*. The Central Committee have, in accordance with this item, given a grant-in-aid of Rs. 10,000 to the Building Fund of the Agra Medical School, and have promised Rs. 200

per month for five years "toward the maintenance of an efficient medical staff." The original estimate for the buildings was Rs. 1,47,000. The sum of Rs. 30,000 was all that could be provided, and the estimate was put down to this amount. Forty-seven girls are at present studying medicine in the Agra institution. Two medical ladies (besides the matron) are in charge of the school—Miss Fairweather, M. D., and Miss Yerbury.

Two grants-in-aid have been made to the Punjab Branch, the one for the translation and publication of some medical books which were necessary for female students, and the other, a contribution towards the salary of a second lady doctor for the Hospital at Lahore.

The Central Committee have also set apart an annual sum for the maintenance of six medical and of twelve nursing scholarships. These will be available at any University or Medical School in India, and their number will be increased as the funds improve.

*II. Medical relief.*—Six lady doctors have been secured. These have received appointment to Ulwar, Durbhunga, Calcutta, Lahore, and Agra; one is at Lahore for further training. Female dispensaries have been established at Ulwar, Durbhunga, and Calcutta. A doctor has been asked for by the Begum of Bhopal. Two trained midwives have been sent to her, and one to Rewah.

The Central Committee hope to be able to keep one doctor in the country always preparing for an independent post.

*III. The supply of trained nurses and midwives.*—This feature connected with the objects of the Association up to the present date has been more discouraging than otherwise. The advance during the year has been slight. It is hoped that when more Female Hospitals and Lying-in Hospitals are founded, there will be more success attending this department. The Central Committee has promised its assistance wherever anything in this line can be established. Native midwives are receiving instruction and training at the Hospitals in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, and Amritsar. A new Hospital is to be opened in Delhi within a year or two. Lucknow, Nagpore, Gurdaspur, Rewa, Mysore and Rangoon have all endeavored to form classes to instruct nurses and midwives in their duties.

For the encouragement of female students a number of medals have been provided. The "Queen-Empress" Gold Medals, presented by Her Majesty to the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Lahore are only to be given to students of marked distinction. The Silver Medals presented by His Excellency the Viceroy are also intended to be rewards of real merit; and the Bronze Medals offered to Hyderabad and Agra will be given to the best pupils of the year in these schools.

The Committee have undertaken to form "a Library of Medical Books" in connection with the Association. Gifts of such books will be thankfully received. A good Medical Journal will also be taken in for circulation.

To further advance the objects of the Association, the Central Committee have chosen a Primer, both simple and interesting, which is being translated into the vernacular, and which will be introduced into as many schools as possible. Stories with sanitary teaching will be written and translated; cards on special subjects are being prepared, which will be useful in the *semanas*.

Lady Dufferin says:—

The promoters of the scheme are not discouraged. They did not expect in one year to succeed in all they originally set themselves to do. They knew the work must be slow, and they have in no way lowered the aspirations with which they began.

The funds in the various Branches up to the 1st January 1887 were as follows:—

|                   |     |     |     |     | Rs.    |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| Bengal            | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55,398 |
| Berar             | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,219  |
| Bombay            | ... | ... | ... | ... | 65,915 |
| Burma             | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,700  |
| Central Provinces | ... | ... | ... | ... | 42,834 |
| Madras            | ... | ... | ... | ... | 22,069 |
| Mysore            | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11,000 |
| N. W. P. and Oudh | ... | ... | ... | ... | 91,500 |
| Panjab            | ... | ... | ... | ... | 45,000 |

Total Rs. 3,44,635

## VI.—METHODS PROPOSED FOR SECURING FUNDS.

While there have been generous gifts poured into the fund of the Association by Rajas, Nawabs, Maharanis, and English gentlemen and ladies, it has been a noticeable feature that few donations under Rs. 50 have been given. This fact constrained the Lady President to issue a card for the purpose of collecting small sums; this card to be known as the "Jubilee Card." Another card for larger donations was also designed.\*

It has been suggested that the Moulvis and Pundits, the religious leaders of the Mahomedans and Hindus, be interested in the Association, that through their influence the masses of the people may the more readily be reached. Speaking on this subject, Sir Lepel Griffin says:—

You must all be perfectly aware that one of the sources of sympathy which this Association possesses with the great mass of the people of India is, that it has no connection whatever with proselytism, and that all

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\* Up to the middle of March 1887, these collecting cards obtained nearly Rs. 14,000 from the N. W. P. and Oudh, Rs. 1,200 from Bengal, and about Rs. 600 from the Panjab.

can join, of any rank or creed, without any danger to their faith. Thus you may get the Moolahs and Brahmins, the leaders of the two great denominations of the country, to work with you, and, in so doing, all cause of suspicion, which is so likely to arise in India, will be obviated.

In October 1886, it was proposed, through the columns of the *Pioneer*, that subscriptions of one anna be given toward the income fund of the Association. That this proposal met with success as well as favor is shown by the following extract from the *Pioneer* of a few days later :—

“TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—In a late issue of your paper, you suggested a one-anna per man subscription to Lady Dufferin's Fund. One of our overseers having explained the object of the fund to us, the employes of the Bundla Tea Plantation, we have much pleasure in handing you the amount of our subscription and hope others will do the same. As you are responsible for the suggestion, we must ask you to kindly accept the responsibility of placing this amount, Rs. 20, in the hands of the Treasurer, as we are unacquainted with the address.

BUNDLA EMPLOYEES.

*Bundla Tea Plantation, Kangra Valley.*

[A cheque for Rs. 20 was sent with the above letter. It is evident from this that if the one-anna idea were taken up all over India, the funds required by the Association would soon be forthcoming—ED.]

This is presumably merely the forerunner of many contributions which will be given on the one-anna suggestion. As has been said, the population of India is so immense, that if even a small portion were to give the smallest donation, the difficulty of the Association would be met.

This Association has been called “a message of mercy to women from the sweet music of a woman's lips.” The Honorable Douglas Straight has said :—

Why it recommends itself so strongly to me is that, apart from its message of mercy from woman's lips to women, and the relief it will convey to suffering humanity, I believe it has laid the keystone upon which will be built up the edifice of a better and more sympathetic understanding between the European and Native subjects of the Queen.

The Taj Mahal, as every one knows, is not only the wonder of all India, but the wonder of the whole world. Travellers, from whatever clime or of whatever nationality, never leave India without gazing with rapture and amazement upon the glittering pile of marble that stands near the city of Agra. Many and varied are the sentiments expressed upon its beauty. Each traveller receives a different impression from the one who precedes or follows him ; and so in reading descriptions of this wonderful tomb, one is bewildered as to the actual appearance of it, and can only be satisfied by seeing with his own eyes what has been pictured to him in words. “You should

see the Taj by sunrise," says one, "when the darkness is just passing away and the gray dawn of the morning appears; then it bursts into loveliness at the touch of the sun's magic wand." "You should never see the Taj except by moonlight," says another; "under the softened light of the moon the beautiful structure develops new beauties; the dazzling effect has ceased, and you gaze upon every part of it as it appears bathed in a soft amber light, that seems to enter your own soul, and impart its peace and serenity, till you wonder that outside these walls there can be a world of sin and strife and sorrow."

"You should see the Taj by starlight" is the expression of another; "the faint pure light of the stars is just enough to bring out all the beauty against the clear sky." Says another—"Go to the Taj at sunset, when the rosy hues of the setting sun are casting a mantle of blushing radiance over the domes and minarets, and you will never care to see the Taj in any other light." The traveller cannot leave the beautiful vision without assuring himself of its many-sided fascinations, and so he stands alone in the enchanted garden, at sunrise, at noon-day, by sunset, in the moonlight, and in the clear radiance of the stars, and feasts his soul on the loveliness which inspired one to say of the matchless structure, "Love was its author, beauty its inspiration."

This "crown of edifices" which graces the fair plains of India was built to the memory of a beautiful queen and wife; it is the answer to the request of a dying mother.

There is another edifice building in this land which bids fair to equal the Taj in glistening purity and in wide-spread fame. It also will be a monument to a queen and an answer to the petition of a suffering woman. Not many years hence when the traveller is gazing upon the sights of India, this building will shine forth in its beauty, seen by varied lights. Would you see it at its best? View it in the clear light of noonday which streams over the wide seas lying between England and India; a light which radiates from the throne of the greatest queen of all history; a light which comes not so much from the jewelled crown of the Queen-Empress, as from the sweet serene face of the beloved wife, the honored mother, the sympathising friend, whose words have fallen upon darkened homes and blighted lives as dew upon the flowers. These words will be emblazoned in golden letters over the entrance-arch to this structure: "We wish it generally known that we sympathise with every effort made to relieve the suffering state of the women of India."

Gaze upon this structure in the sunrise light which breaks upon it from the Maharani's palace at Punna. When the shutters of that palace opened to admit into the royal bed-chamber the skilled female physician whose tender hand and healing touch relieved distress of body and mind, this tender, dawning rosy light broke forth to fill all India's palaces and homes with the glare of succour and relief from pain.

See it in the sunset light which glows from the hospital, the sick room, the lecture room, and say, was ever such another building planned and executed as this one, petitioned for by a suffering, secluded Rani, assented to and established by a gracious reigning Queen, heralded and advocated by a gentle, loving Lady, manned and cared for by earnest, devoted women who are willing to lay down their lives in erecting to perfection this edifice which will stand, not as a monument of the love of a king for his queen, but as the personification of the love of woman for woman!

View it in the starlight which peeps and twinkles out from many homes scattered through country villages and crowded in the weary city *mohullas*; a light which comes from the gladdened faces of suffering women, who realise that aid is at last brought within even their weak grasp.

Watch the purity, the beauty, the loveliness of this structure in the clear, soft moonlight radiance which emanates from the Viceregal mansion in the City of Palaces. This light beams from a heart so pure that its rays illuminate the darkest corners of India, and cause the song of praise to flow from lips unused to song, and draws from the hearts of women whose prayers are daily made to the household idol, the loving petition, "God bless Lady Dufferin; where is she that I may worship her with sandal wood and flowers?"

It is said that all labor in erecting the wonderful Taj Mahal was forced labor; that many poor men gave up their lives in obedience to the cruel demands made upon their strength; so that in stepping upon the marble floors we *feel* the pain and sorrow with which the stones and gems were cemented.

It is not so with *this* grand monument of love. Every stone is laid with joy and singing; every labourer is constrained by love; every gift is freely poured into the treasury; every minaret will glisten in the light of future ages with the jeweled tears of gladness shed by grateful millions. The dome of this monument will hold a sweeter echo than ever ear has caught in the charmed tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. It will be the softened echo of the softened child-birth wailings heard from the curtained *zenanas* of India's secluded women rising



towards heaven with the incense smoke of gratitude and love. This building is fast approaching completion, and it shall stand the wonder of the coming years—the wonder of the world. The traveller on his way will see it from afar, and shall stand beneath the jewelled banner which will float upon the Indian breeze and read in characters of gold this name—

“THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPLYING  
FEMALE AID TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA.”

MRS. M. A. BADLEY.

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## ACT III.—HINDU CIVILISATION OF THE BRAHMANA PERIOD.

### 1.—*The Literature of the period.*

THE scene changes as we turn from the period of the Rig-Veda to the Brāhmana period. We no longer find the Aryans confined in the Punjab, or rather in the land of the seven rivers. The tide of conquest and colonisation has rolled eastwards as far as the confines of Bengal, and the very centres of learning and religious culture are no longer on the Indus, but along the banks of the Ganges and to the east of that river. We no longer find sturdy invaders and colonists struggling for a footing on the soil against swarms of black aborigines. The colonists are the masters of the land; they have formed powerful kingdoms all over Northern India, and the aborigines have been expelled to remoter regions or been completely subdued. And lastly, we no longer find Rishis and poets invoking the gods in simple strains for increase of cattle and crops and for victory over the black aborigines. In their place we find learned priests presiding over elaborate ceremonies in royal courts, delighting in learned discussions on abstruse subjects, and rejoicing in the privileges of a *hereditary caste*.

The hymns of the Rig-Veda are the only materials we have for a history of the Rig-Veda period. It is necessary, before we enter on the history of the Brāhmana period, to briefly examine our materials for this period.

It has not yet been definitively settled, we believe, when the hymns of the Rig-Veda were arranged in the shape in which we have them now. Popular tradition and later literature agree in ascribing the work of compilation of all the four Vedas to Krishna Dvaipāyana Veda Vyāsa. (See Vishnu Purāṇa). This must be a myth, however, because the Atharva-Veda was not universally recognised as a Veda, even to the end of the period of which we are now speaking, and probably not till the commencement of the Paurāṇik age. Shall we consider Vyāsa then as the compiler only of the Rig-Veda hymns? Even this supposition is doubtful, because in the literature of the Brāhmana period we seldom meet with Vyāsa's name, and nowhere find him described as the compiler of the Rig-Veda.\*

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\* The name of Vyāsa Fārāsarya is found in the Taittirīya Aranyaka. He is also spoken of in the Vāsa of the Sāma Vidhāna Brāhmana as the preceptor of Jaimini.

The tradition about Vyâsa probably simply implies the fact that the Rig-Veda, the Sâma-Veda and the old or Black Yajur-Veda were first compiled in the same period.

The arrangement and compilation of the Rig-Veda hymns in their present shape must have been completed in the Brâhmana period, if not before. In Aitareya Aranyaka II, 2, we have fanciful derivations given of the names of the Rishis of the Rig-Veda in the order in which the Mandalas are arranged. And this is followed by an account of a Sûkta or hymn, of a Rik or verse, of a half Rik, of a Pada or word, and of an Akshara or syllable. The Rig-Veda Sanhitâ therefore had not only been arranged Mandala by Mandala, but had been carefully divided, subdivided and analysed within the Brâhmana period. It is not an unlikely supposition that it was during this work of compilation that some of the latest hymns, like the Purusha Sûkta (X, 90), the speculations about creation, the hymns against diseases and noxious birds, and prayers for good luck, &c., were thrown in and thus preserved along with the earlier hymns.

The reasons which led to the compilation of the Sâma-Veda and the Yajur-Veda have been ascertained with a fair degree of certainty. We find mention in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, of different classes of priests who performed different duties at sacrifices. The *Adhvaryus* were entrusted with the material performance of the sacrifice. They measured the ground, built the altar, prepared the sacrificial vessels, fetched wood and water, and immolated animals. The *Udgâtris*, on the other hand, were entrusted with the duty of singing, as according to ancient custom some parts of the sacrifice had to be accompanied by songs. The *Hotris* had to recite hymns. And lastly, the *Brahmans* presided at sacrifices over all the rest.

Of these four classes of priests, neither the Brahman nor the Hotri required any special manual. For the Brahman was required to know the entire ceremonial to be able to superintend the performance of the sacrifice, to advise the other priests on doubtful points, and to correct their mistakes. The Hotri too had simply to recite, and if he knew the hymns of the Rig-Veda, he did not require any separate compilation. But the duties of the Adhvaryu and the Udgâtri required special training. Special sacrificial formulas must have existed for the former, and a stock of the Rig-Veda hymns, set to music, must have also existed for the latter in the Rig-Veda period, for we find the names *Yajus* and *Saman* in the Rig-Veda hymns. These formulas and chants were, however, separately collected and compiled at a later age, and in the Brâhmana period; and these separate compilations, in the shape which they last took, are the *Yajur-Veda* and the *Sâma-Veda* as we have them now.

No name has been handed down to us as the compiler of the Sâma-Veda. It has come down to us in two *Sâkhas* or recensions, one of which belongs to the school of the Rânâyanîyas, and the other to that of the Kauthumas. The two recensions differ but little from each other. The Sâma-Veda Sanhitâ is divided into two parts, *viz.*, the Archika and the Staubhika. The Archika again consists of the Geya Gâna and the Aranya Gâna, or the forest songs. The Staubhika similarly consists of the Uha-gâna and the Uhyagâna. Professor Benfey has pointed out, what Dr. Stevenson previously suspected, that all the verses of the Sâma-Veda, with the exception of a few, are to be found in the Rig-Veda, and it is supposed that these few verses too must have been contained in some other recension of the Rig-Veda now lost to us. It is quite clear therefore that the Sâma-Veda is only a selection from the Rig-Veda, set to music for a special purpose, and for the present historical enquiry, therefore, this Veda will be found of little value.

Dr. H. H. Wilson first published an edition and a translation of the Sâma-Veda by Dr. Stevenson in 1842-43. Professor Benfey's more valuable and critical edition, with a German translation, appeared in 1848. But the most valuable edition, because containing the commentary of Sâyana, has been published by the worthy Pundit Satyavrata Sâmasramin in the Bibliotheca Indica since 1871. The edition is now complete, and the Pundit is engaged now in giving us a Bengali translation of it.

Of the compilers of the *Yajur-Veda*, we have some information. The more ancient or Black Yajur-Veda is called the Taittiriya Sanhitâ, from Tittiri, who probably compiled or promulgated it in its present shape. We know of three recensions of this work. The Taittiriya recension properly so-called, belongs to the school of Apastamba, and is divided into seven Ashtakas. Of the Atreya recension, little is known except the Anukramanî, which is still extant. The third recension is called Kâthaka, which belongs to the school of the Charakas, and differs considerably from the Taittiriya recension. In the Anukramanî of the Atreya recension, spoken of above, we are told that the Veda was handed down by Vaisampâyana to Yâska Paingî, by Yâska to Tittiri, by Tittiri to Ukha, and by Ukha to Atreya. This would shew that the existing oldest recension of the Yajur-Veda was not the first recension.

An edition of the Black Yajur-Veda with Sâyana's Commentary has, since many years past, been in the course of publication in the Bibliotheca Indica. Pundit Mahesa Chandra Nyâyaratna, Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, is at present engaged in the work.

We have still more reliable information with regard to the more recent White Yajur-Veda. It is called the Vâjasaney

Sanhitâ, from Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneya, the compiler or promulgator of that Veda. Yâjnavalkya held the influential position of Chief Priest in the court of Janaka, King of the Videhas, and the promulgation of this new Veda proceeded probably from the court of that learned king.

There is a striking difference in arrangement between the White Yajur-Veda and the Black Yajur-Veda. In the latter, the sacrificial formulas are followed by dogmatic explanations, and by accounts of ceremonials belonging to them. In the former, the formulas only find place in the Sanhitâ, the explanation and the ritual being assigned to the Brâhmana. It is not improbable, as has been supposed, that it was to improve the old arrangement, and to separate the exegetic matter from the formulas, that Yâjnavalkya, of the court of Janaka, founded the new school known as the Vâjasaneyins, and that their labors resulted in a new (Vâjasaneyi) Sanhitâ and an entirely separate (Satapatha) Brâhmana.

The White Yajur-Veda has come down to us in two recensions, the Mâdhyandina and the Kânva, which generally always agree with each other in their Riks or verses, and differ only in the Yajus portions or prose formulas. Although the promulgation of the White Yajur-Veda is ascribed to Yâjnavalkya, a glance at its contents will show that it is not the compilation of any one man or even of one age. Of its 40 chapters, only the first 18 are cited in full and explained in due order in the first nine books of the Satapatha Brâhmana; and it is the formulas of these 18 chapters only which are found in the older Black Yajur-Veda. These 18 chapters then are the oldest portion of the White Yajur-Veda, and may have been compiled or promulgated by Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneya. The next 7 chapters are very likely a later addition. The remaining 15 chapters are undoubtedly a still later addition, and are expressly called Parisishta or Khila, *i.e.*, supplement.

The following is a summary of the contents of the White Yajur-Veda. Chapters 1 and 2 relate to New and Full-moon sacrifice; chapter 3 to morning and evening Fire sacrifice, &c; chapters 4 to 8 to Soma sacrifice; chapters 9 and 10 to modifications of the same; and chapters 11 to 18 relate to the construction of altars and fires. We have seen that this is the oldest portion of the White Yajur-Veda, and the formulas contained in these chapters are found in the Black Yajur-Veda also. Chapters 19 to 21 relate to the Sautrâmanî ceremony, intended originally to expiate the effects of over-indulgence in Soma; and chapters 22 to 25 relate to the horse-sacrifice. This forms the second portion of the Sanhitâ. Chapters 26 to 29 relate to sacrifices already described in the previous chapters; and chapters 30 to 39 mostly relate to

entirely new sacrifices unknown to the earlier portions of the Veda, like human sacrifice and universal sacrifice. Chapter 40 is an Upanishad known as Vâjasaneyi or Isa.

Professor Weber of Berlin first published an edition of the White Yajur-Veda in both recensions in 1849-52; but the commentary of Mahîdhara, which he published with it, was incomplete. Pundit Satyavrata Samasramin has since published the Mâdhyandina recension of the Sanhitâ, with the commentary of Mahîdhara, and a Bengali translation of the work.

Of the Atharva-Veda we need only repeat what we stated before, that it was not generally recognised as a Veda till long after the period of which we are speaking, though a class of literature, known as the Atharvângiras, was growing up during the Brâhmana period, and is alluded to *in the later portions* of some of the Brâhmanas. Throughout the Brâhmana period, and throughout the Sûtra period which followed, and even later on, in the Manu Sanhitâ and other metrical codes, three Vedas are generally recognised. And although the claims of the Atharvan were sometimes put forward, still the work was not generally recognised as a fourth Veda till the commencement of the Pauranik period. Hundreds of passages recognising three Vedas only could be cited from the literature of the Brâhmana period, but we are unable to make room for such passages. We will only refer our readers to a few passages, *viz.*: Aitareya Brâhmana V, 5.32; Satapatha Brâhmana IV, 6, 7; Aitareya Aranyaka III, 2, 3; Brihadâranyaka Upanishad I, 5; and Chhândogya Upanishad III. and VII, where, after the three Vedas are named, Athârvangiras is classed with Itihâsa. It is only in the Brâhmanas and Upanishads of the Atharva-Veda itself that we find a uniform recognition of this work as a Veda. For instance, it is the principal object of the Gopatha Brâhmana to show the necessity of *four* Vedas. A carriage, we are told, does not proceed with less than four wheels, an animal cannot walk with less than four feet, nor can sacrifice be perfect with less than four Vedas! Such special pleading only proves that the fourth Veda was not yet recognised generally, even in the comparatively recent times when the Gopatha Brâhmana was composed.

An excellent edition of the Atharva-Veda has been published by Roth and Whitney. The Veda is divided into 20 books, and principally consists of formulas intended to protect men against the baneful influences of divine powers, against diseases, noxious animals, and curses of enemies. It also contains invocations for good luck in journeys, in gaiming, &c. These hymns resemble similar hymns in the last book of the Rig-Veda; only as Professor Weber has pointed out, in the Rig-Veda they are apparently additions made at the time of the

compilation, while in the Atharva-Veda they are the natural utterance of the present.

We must now hasten to an account of those compositions, after which the period of which we are speaking has been named, *viz.*, the *Brāhmanas*. We have seen that in the Black Yajur-Veda the texts are, as a rule, followed by their dogmatic explanations. These explanations were supposed to elucidate the texts, and to explain their hidden meanings, and they contained the speculations of generations of priests,

A single discourse of this kind was called a *Brāhmana*; and in later times collections or digests of such discourses were called *Brāhmanas*.

The Rig-Veda has two *Brāhmanas*, *viz.*, the *Aitareya* and the *Kaushītaki*. The composition of the former is attributed to Mahidāsa Aitareya, son of Itarā, one of the many wives of a Rishi. The story is given by Sāyana in his introduction to the *Aitareya Brāhmana*. In the *Kanshitaki Brāhmana*, on the other hand, special regard is paid to the sage Kaushītaka, whose authority is considered to be final. For the rest, these two *Brāhmanas* seem to be only two recensions of the same work, used by the *Aitaryins* and the *Kaushītakins*, respectively, and they agree with each other in many respects, except that the last ten chapters of the *Aitareya* are not found in the *Kanshitaki*, and belong probably to a later age. The *Aitareya Brāhmana* has been edited and translated by Dr. Martin Haug, 1863. Our extracts in this paper will be generally from Haug's translation.

The *Sāma-Veda* has the *Tāndya* or *Panchavinsa Brāhmana*, the *Sādvinsa Brāhmana*, and the better known *Chhândogya Brāhmana*. *Tāndya* seems to be the name of a teacher, and is quoted in later works. The *Tāndya Brāhmana* has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

The Black Yajur-Veda or *Taittirīya Sanhitā* has its *Taittirīya Brāhmana*, which has been published with Sāyana's Commentary in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.

The White Yajur-Veda or *Vāja Saneyi Sanhitā* has its voluminous *Satapatha Brāhmana*, which exists both in the *Mādhyandina* and *Kāva* recensions, and was published by Professor Weber of Berlin, and of which a translation has been commenced by Professor Eggling. Our extracts from this work will generally be from this translation. We have already stated that the *Satapatha Brāhmana* is attributed to Yājñavalkya, though it is more likely the handiwork of the school he founded, as he is often quoted in the work. Nor does the work belong entirely to one school or to one age. On the contrary, as in the case of the *White Yajur-Vedā Sanhitā*, so in the case of its *Brāhmana*, there are reasons to think that the work belongs to different

periods. The first 18 chapters of the Sanhitâ are the oldest part of the work, and the first nine books of the Brâhmana, which comment on these 18 chapters, are the oldest part of the Brâhmana. These nine books contain 60 chapters, and were called *Shashti Patha* in the time of Patanjali, as Professor Weber has pointed out. The remaining five books with their forty chapters are of later date than the first nine books. It has also been noticed that even in the first nine books Yâjnavalkya is not always quoted as the final authority. His opinions are authoritative in the first five books, while the remaining four quote Sândilya. The two lines of teachers meet in their common successor Sanjivîputra (named after his mother according to the custom of the times), and it is supposed that Sanjivîputra reconciled the two schools, and finally adjusted the first nine books. Thus this famous Brâhmana is not the work of one man or of one age. It seems to have been first started by the school of Yâjnavalkya, and the work of that school appears to have been combined with the work of the school of Sândilya; and to the nine books thus formed, five more books were added at a later age.

The Atharva-Veda has its Gopatha Brâhmana, a comparatively recent production, the contents of which are a medley derived, to a large extent, from other sources. It has been published with an English translation in the Bibliotheca Indica by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.

Next after the Brâhmanas come the *Aranyakas*, which may, indeed, be considered as the last portions of the Brâhmanas. They are so called, as Sâyana informs us, because they had to be read in the forest, while the Brâhmanas were for use in sacrifices performed by householders in villages and towns. We scarcely meet with any allusions to retirement in forests in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, and forest life and retirement are undoubtedly a far later institution than sacrifices in the householder's own fireside.

The Rig-Veda has its Kaushîtaki Aranyaka and its Aitareya Aranyaka, the latter of which has been published by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra in the Bibliotheca Indica. Mahidâsa Aitareya is the reputed author of this work, and is frequently quoted in it. The Black Yajur-Veda has its Taittiriya Aranyaka, which has been similarly published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The last book of the Satapatha Brâhmana is called its Aranyaka, and is published with the Brâhmana by Professor Weber as stated above. The Sâma-Veda and the Atharva-Veda have no Aranyakas.

What gives these Aranyakas a special importance, however, is that they are the proper depositories of those celebrated religious speculations known as the *Upanishads*. We have



seen that one Upanishad is found in the body of the White Yajur-Veda Saphitâ, and another, the Brihadâraṇyaka, forms the last half of the last book of the Satapatha Brâhmana. The Aranyakas, however, are the proper places where the Upanishads are generally found. The Upanishads which are the best known, and which are undoubtedly ancient, are the Aitareya and the Kaushîtaki, found in the Aranyakas of those names, and belonging to the Rig-Veda; the Chhândogya and the Tala-vakâra (or Kena) belonging to the Sâma-Veda; the Vâjasaneyi (or Isa) and the Brihadâraṇyaka belonging to the White Yajur-Veda, and the Taittirîyaka belonging to the Black Yajur-Veda. The Katha too is said to belong to the Black Yajur-Veda but more probably belongs to the Atharva-Veda, together with the Mundaka and the Prasna. These ten, together with the Svetâsvatara, which is undoubtedly more recent, are the eleven "classical Upanishads" as Max Müller calls them, to which Sankarâchârya principally appeals as his great commentary on the Vedânta Sûtras. But once after the Upanishads had come to be considered sacred and authoritative works, new compositions of the class began to be added until the total number reaches 170 or more. These later Upanishads, which are generally known as the Atharva Upanishads, come down as far as the Pauranik times, and, as Professor Weber points out, "enter the lists in behalf of sectarian views," instead of being devoted to an enquiry into the nature of Brahman or the Supreme Spirit, like the old Upanishads. We shall have, therefore, no occasion to refer to these later Upanishads in our present paper.

The Upanishads were translated into Persian by Dara, the son of Shah Jehan, three years before he was murdered by his brother Aurungzebe. The Persian translation was rendered into French and into Latin by Anquetil Duperron, and the Latin translation was published in Europe in 1801 and 1802. Raja Ram Mohan Roy then began his labors and translated the Kena, Isa, Prasna, and Mundaka Upanishads into English. Since then the Aitareya and the Brihadâraṇyaka have been translated by Roer, the Kaushîtaki by Cowell, and the Chhândogya by Rajendra Lala Mitra. All the eleven classical Upanishads have since been again rendered into English by Max Müller in his valuable series, called the Sacred Books of the East. Our extracts will generally be from his translation as being the latest.

With the Upanishads the Brâhmana period ends, and the so-called *revealed literature* of India ends also; the period of Sûtra literature then commences. Other classes of works, besides those named herein, undoubtedly existed in the Brâhmana period, but have now been lost to us, or more frequently

replaced by newer works. A fragment only of the vast literature of the Brâhmana period has come down to us, and the principal works which remain have been detailed above.

## *II.—Kings and States.*

Janaka, King of the Videhas, is probably the most prominent figure in the history of the Brâhmana period in India! That monarch had not only established his power in the farthest confines of the Aryan dominions in India, but he gathered round him the most learned men of his time; he entered into discussions with them, and instructed them in holy truths about the Universal Being. It is this that has surrounded the name of Janaka with undying glory. King Ajâtasatru of the Kâshis, himself a learned man and a most renowned patron of learning, exclaimed in despair, "Verily, all people run away, saying, Janaka is our patron!" (Brihadâraṇyaka Upanishad II, I, 1.)

It is curious that we do not hear any more in the Brâhmana period of the seven rivers of the Panjab, whose banks were the first homes of the Hindus. Colonists generally give indications of greater vigour than their brethren in the mother-country, and we can therefore easily comprehend how the eastern colonies of the Hindu world left the ancient land of the seven rivers far behind in learning and in progress. In matters of religion, too, the Panjab Hindus still clung to the old and purer form of Vedic religion, while Brâhmanism, in its severest and strictest form, was gradually developed on the banks of the Ganges and its tributaries.

Long centuries must have elapsed from the time of Sudas's battling with the black aborigines on the banks of the Indus, to the time of Janaka, firmly established on the very confines of Bengal. River after river was gradually crossed, forest after forest slowly explored, state after state was conquered, annexed, inhabited, and Braminised in the onward march towards the East.

The history of the interminable struggles and conquests of the Aryans and the gradual development of the Hindu power and the Hindu religion over the whole of Northern India is lost to us; we see only its commencement in the Rig-Veda, and its final result in the Brâhmana literature that has been preserved to us. Some recollections only of the march from the West appear here and there in the Brâhmanas in the shape legends!

The eastern march of the Hindus is alluded to in a passage in the Satapatha Brâhmana, to which attention was first called by Professor Weber.

"10. Mâthava the Videgha carried Agni Vaistânara in .

his mouth. The Rishi Gotama Râhûgana was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter) he made no answer, fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth.

"13. Still he did not answer. (The priest continued): 'Thee O butter sprinkled one, we invoke! (Rig-Veda V, 26, 2.) So much he uttered, when, at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaisvânara flashed forth from the king's mouth; he was unable to hold him back; he issued from his mouth and fell down on this earth.

"Mâthava the Videgha was at that time on the (river) Sarasvatî. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gotama Râhûgana and the Videgha Madhava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that (river) which is called Sadânîrâ \* flows from the northern (Himâlaya) mountain: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brâhmans did not cross in former times, thinking, it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvânara.

"15. Now a days, however, there are many Brâhmans to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadânîrâ) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaisvânara.

"17. Mâthava the Videgha then said (to Agni), "Where am I to abide?" "To the east of this (river) be thy abode!" said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Koshalas and Videhas; for these are the Mâthavas (or descendants of Mathava.)"—Sathapata Brâhmana, I, 4, 1.

Here then we have an account, in a legendary form, of the gradual march of the colonists from the banks of the Sarasvatî eastwards, until they crossed the Gunduck and founded the kingdom of the Videhas close to the kingdom of the Koshalas.

But still more interesting and valuable for our purposes are the detailed accounts of the country then known to the Hindus, such as we now and then come across in the Brâhmana literature. Such, for instance, is the account given in Aitareya Brâhmana VIII, 14.

"The Vâsavas then inaugurated him (Indra) in the eastern direction during thirty-one days by these three Rik verses, the Yajus verse, and the great words (all just mentioned), for the sake of obtaining universal sovereignty. Hence all kings of eastern nations are inaugurated to universal sovereignty and called *Samrâj*, i.e., universal sovereign, after this precedent made once by the gods.

"Then the Rudras inaugurated Indra in the southern region during thirty-one days, with the three Rik verses, the Yajus,

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\* Supposed to be the Gunduck.

and the great words (just mentioned), for obtaining enjoyment of pleasures. Hence all kings of living creatures (chiefly beasts) \* in the southern region, are inaugurated for the enjoyment (of pleasures) and called *Bhoja*, i.e., the enjoyer.

"Then the divine Adityas inaugurated him in the western region during thirty-one days, with those three Rik verses, that Yajus verse, and those great words for obtaining independent rule. Hence all kings of the *Nichyas* and *Apdichyas* in the western countries† are inaugurated to independent rule, and called 'independent rulers.' ‡

'Then the Visvedevāh inaugurated him during thirty-one days in the northern region by those three Rik verses, &c., for distinguished rule. Hence all people living in northern countries beyond the Himālaya, such as the *Uttara Kurus*, *Uttara Mādras*, are inaugurated for living without a king (*Vai-rājam*), and called Virāj. i. e., without king.

"Then the divine Sādhyas and Aptayas inaugurated Indra during thirty-one days in the middle region, which is a firmly established footing (the immovable centre) to the kingship (*Rājya*). Hence the kings of the *Kuru Panchālas* with the *Vasas* and *Usīnaras* are inaugurated to kingship and called Kings (Raja)."

This passage shows us at one glance the whole of the Hindu world as it existed in the Brāhmana period. To the farthest east lived the Videhas and the Kasis and the Koshalas as we have seen before, and those newest and youngest of the Hindu colonists excelled in learning and reputation their elder brethren in the west. Their kings, Janaka and Ajatasatru and others, took the proud title of *Samrāj*, and worthily maintained their dignity by their learning and their prowess.

The vast forests of the south were yet unexplored, and were peopled by aborigines, whom the author contemptuously styles *Satvas*, i. e., living creatures scarcely human beings.

But we note that the kingdoms in this direction already went by the name of *Bhoja* (however fanciful the derivation which the author gives of the word), and *Bhoja* in later times was the name of the same regions near Malwa and the Vindhyas.§

The states and tribes who lived in the Panjab, and who had first sent colonies to the far east, had almost ceased to take an

\* *Satvānām* is the word in the original.

† *Pratichyām* is the word in the original.

‡ *Svarāt* is the word in the original, whence *Saurāshtra* and Surat.

§ The Atareya Brāhmana gives in another place (VII, 18), the names of certain degraded barbarous tribes, and among them that of the Andhras. We shall see that in the Sūtra period, the Andhras rose to be a great civilized Hindu power in Southern India.

active share in the politics of the new Hindu world. They scarcely adopted the social and religious changes which were inaugurated among the eastern nations ; they gave no indications of the learning and progress by which the eastern tribes rapidly distinguished themselves ; and it is probable they still clung to some modification of the old Vedic religion, while their eastern brethren were first drifting into Brâhmanism. These western nations in the Panjab or farther south are called *Nîchyas* and *Apâchyas*, and their rulers had the significant name of *Svarât*, or independent rulers. We do not know whether this alludes to their political independence, or rather want of connexion with the other Hindu kingdoms, or their social disagreement with the ways into which the eastern nations were fast drifting.

On the north the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Mâdras and other tribes lived—beyond the Himâlaya we are told—but which probably means beyond the lower ranges and among the valleys of the Himalayas.

To the present day these men live in communes, and have very little concern with chief or king ; and it is no wonder in the ancient times they should be known as peoples without kings.

And then, in the very centre of the Hindu world, along the valley of the Ganges, lived the powerful tribes of the Kurus and the Panchâlas, and the less known tribes, the Vasas and the Usînaras. In learning, in prowess, in reputation, the Kurus and the Panchâlas, whose capitals were near the sites of modern Delhi and Kanouj, respectively, yielded to none ; many of the Brâhmanas and Upanishads were composed among them—all allude to them. No wonder when these two powerful tribes fell out and fought with each other, the whole Hindu world shook to its foundations, and the event is immortalized in the great National Epic of the Hindus, as we shall see further on.

Such, then, was the Hindu world of the Brâhmana period. The Himalayas and the Vindhya bounded this world to the north and to the south ; the ancient land of the “seven rivers” bounded it to the west ; and in the east it extended to the confines of Bengal, which province was not yet colonised, or at least not properly included among the States forming the great Hindu confederation. In a passage in the Atharva-Veda, referred to by Professor Weber, special and hostile notice is taken of the Angas and Magadhas in the east, as well as the Gandhâris, Mûjavants, Sûdras, Mahâvrishas, and Valhikas in the north-west. The Hindu region was therefore apparently shut in among these tribes. In the Mahâbhârata too, as we have the work now, we find that Jarâsandha,

the powerful king of Magadha, kept 97 princes in confinement, and Bhīma killed him and released the captive kings. If there is any historic truth in this story, it probably indicates the hostility of that powerful kingdom against the polished Aryan kingdoms of the Kuru-Panchâlas.

And this brings us to the subject of the Kuru-Panchâla war, the great war which marks an epoch in Indian history, and forms the subject of the Epic of India. As we have said before, we find frequent mention of the Kuru-Panchâlas in the literature of the Brâhmana period. The Kurus appear originally to have come from the north, and in Aitāreya Brâhmana, as we have seen before, Uttara Kurus, together with the Uttara Mâdras, are said to dwell beyond the Himâlaya. Professor Zimmer supposes that at the time of the Rig-Veda hymns the allied tribes of Kuru-Panchâlas, then known as Kuru-Krivis, may have lived in the valleys of Kashmir. However that may be, during the period that we are speaking of, the Kurus occupied the districts between the Jumna and the Ganges, and had their capital near modern Delhi, and the Panchâlas bordered on them towards the south-east, and the site of the Panchâla capital has been identified with modern Kanouj.

In the early portions of the Satapatha Brâhmana, we find the Kurus and the Panchâlas living in perfect peace. But there is a passage in the 13th Book of the same Brâhmana in which Bhârata, the son of Duhshanta and Sakuntalâ, Dhritarâshtra, the king of the Kâshis and Janamejaya Pârikshita, and his three brothers Bhîmasena, Ugrasena and Srautasena are named, *and these last are absolved by a horse-sacrifice from all guilt, all Brahmahatyâ.* Again, in the 14th Book we find an account of a discussion between Yâjñavalkya and his rivals in Janaka's Court, and one of the questions put to Yâjñavalkya by one of his rivals is, "*Whither have the Pârikshitas gone?*" and Yâjñavalkya answers, "*Thither where all Asvamedhâ sacrificers go.*"

Professor Weber's remarks on these passages are worthy of reflection. He says: "The Pârikshitas must at that time have been altogether extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity. It almost seems as though their guilt, then *Brahmahatyâ*, had been too great for the people to believe that it could have been atoned for by sacrifices, were they ever so holy."—Indian Literature (Translation), p. 126.

On the whole, therefore, Professor Weber adopts Lassen's view that there was a destructive conflict between the Kurus and the Panchâlas which led to their mutual annihilation, and that this feud is the leading and central fact round which the

stories of the Mahābhārata have since grown. Professor Weber further maintains that this war must have taken place in the Brāhmana period, after the Satapatha Brāhmana had been commenced, and before the final books of that work were written. For in the earlier books of the Brāhmana, "we find the Kurus and the Panchālas still in full prosperity, and also united in the closest bonds of friendship as one people. Consequently this internecine strife cannot have taken place. On the other hand, in the latest portions of the Brāhmana, we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation and the fall of Janamejaya Pārikshita and his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Srautasena, and of the whole family of the Pārikshitas, apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of controversy."—Indian Literature (Translation), p. 135.

Without venturing to express an opinion on the passage already quoted, and the inferences drawn from them by Lassen and Weber, we think there can be very little doubt that there *was* a destructive war between the Kurus and the Panchālas. There can be as little doubt that this war was the subject of the Mahābhārata in its original shape, and that this original Mahābhārata *was composed shortly after the war*, probably within the Brāhmana period. The name of Mahābhārata occurs in Asvalāyana's Grihya Sūtras, and scholars like Max Müller, Goldstücker and Weber, agree in maintaining that the original Mahābhārata existed in Asvalāyana's time, *i. e.*, in the Sūtra period which immediately followed the Brāhmana period.

What a historical treasure, what an invaluable record of the manners and customs and annals of the Brāhmana period we have lost in that original Epic of India ! Where is the Indian historian who will not willingly sacrifice one-half of the voluminous later literature of the Paurāṇik period to get this single work back again in its integrity ? But this may not be. Every later poet and editor has contributed his mite towards enlarging, altering, and distorting the ancient Epic ; every new sect has been careful to incorporate its new-fangled tenets in this national work, and Krishna-worship, which is of later origin, has been bodily transplanted into the ancient narrative of the Kuru-Panchāla war !

But even in the distorted Mahābhārata that we have in the present day, the theme of the poem is still the war between the Kurus and the Panchālas, though the Panchālas appear only as the allies of the heroes of the war, and a daughter of the Panchāla house in their wife.

Everything else in the ancient Epic has been changed since. The geography of the modern Mahābhārata is not

the geography of the Brâhmana period. For in the modern Mahâbhârata, Sahadeva proceeds southwards as far as Mysore and Ceylon ; and it is needless to remark that these countries were unknown to the Hindus in the Brâhmana period. Then, again, Arjuna, the hero of the modern Epic, is in the Satapatha Brâhmana still a name of Indra, and Indra's combats with the rain-cloud have been transformed and mixed up with the facts of a historical war ! Janamejaya, in the modern Epic, is the great grandson of Arjuna. In the Satapatha Brâhmana, which is contemporaneous with the real war, Janamejaya is the brother of Bhîmasena, and is himself stained with the guilt of the war. And lastly, the Pândavas in the modern Epic are the cousins of the Kurus, while the Pândavas are not even mentioned by name in contemporaneous accounts ; the war was between the Kurus and the Panchâlas. Draupadî and her five husbands are a myth pure and simple !\*

And yet, though the great Epic has been mangled and disfigured by later writers down to the Pauranik period, it is nevertheless not without historical value, even for the Brâhmana period. The framework of the Epic belongs to the Brâhmana period ; the society and manners it describes are in the main those of the Brâhmana period and not of the Pauranik period. The glimpses of life with which it presents us are invaluable, and we see how in the long past, three thousand year ago, the Videhas and the Kurus and the Panchâlas, those great and heroic tribes of ancient India, lived and fought and worshipped their gods. We find a society far more polished and civilised than the rude society which existed in Greece a few centuries later, of which Homer has given us a graphic and faithful picture. We learn that the courts of great kings were frequented by learned men and wise men, by brave men and by renowned warriors. Learning was not yet the monopoly of the Brâhmins. Young princes of royal houses were trained in the Vedas, and also in arms. They learnt archery and riding and driving the war-car, and they learnt also the forming of those phalanxes or "squares" which were so useful in war. In these martial exercises the young princes vied with each other, and often imbibed those feelings of jealousy, or even hatred, which deepened with advancing years, and broke out into open rupture when they ascended the throne.

\* In the modern epic, Draupadî, daughter of the King of the Panchâlas, is the wife of the five Pândavas, the heroes of the war. We know enough of the manners of the polished court of the Panchâlas to be able to assert that the King of that tribe would not have given his daughter to *five husbands* to save his empire or even his head ! Some writers believe the Pândavas were a separate tribe who may have helped the Panchâlas in their war. If so, the story of Draupadî, may only be a metaphor, representing the alliance of this tribe with the Panchâlas.



Ladies had separate apartments of their own, but were not kept in seclusion or confinement; they came out in public on state occasions; they witnessed tournaments among rival princes; they attended great sacrifices; and they had their proper influence in society and even in politics. Girls were married at an advanced age, and often the fame of a princess's beauty had spread over all the land before she was wedded. When rival claimants appeared for her hand, her father often held the *Śayamvara*. Princes were invited from all parts of the Hindu world, and sat in the assembly hall, and the bride went with the garland in her hand and gave it to him to whom she gave her hand and her heart. Jealousies among the martial princes in such assemblies often broke out in open war, and all the prowess and all the tact of the bride's father was sometimes scarcely equal to allay such disputes.

Among the vices of kings, gambling was one of the worst, and villages and towns and kingdoms were often staked and lost on the fall of the dice. This, again, was another fruitful source of war. The king who lost his kingdom thus soon found a reason to claim it again, and soon found allies among the martial kings of the surrounding country to support his claims. Bloody wars ensued. Dashing warriors distinguished themselves in these wars by breaking through the enemies' ranks in their war-cars, until retreat was cut off and they were killed; skilful archers distinguished themselves by their unerring aim; powerful men wielded the more primitive club or mace; while wise generals, grown grey over the science of war, formed those impenetrable "squares" which spread their fame all over the land.

By such wars some great king established his supremacy over his neighbours. He then performed the great horse-sacrifice as the crowning act which established his supremacy. The horse was let loose with a small guard, to wander as it willed for the period of a year. If any king dared to restrain it, war followed; but if it came back unrestrained after a year, the king invited all his neighbours to a great sacrifice, which was performed according to the rituals of the day. The queen was a principal performer in the horse-sacrifice, and had to go through some revolting ceremonies; but these were probably done emblematically. There is no doubt from the passage, quoted from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, that Janamejaya Pārikshita conquered his enemies and killed Brahman warriors also at a great war, and then he performed the great horse-sacrifice as an expiation of his guilt, and also as a crowning act of prowess. Such are the glimpses of life in courts and on the battle field that we get from the wreck of our ancient Epic; and however much the main story may have been changed, these accounts are true and historic accounts of the manners of the Brāhmaṇa period.

We have seen that the Mahâbhârata is mentioned by Asvalâyana, and must have existed therefore as a collected work in the Sûtra period. We cannot say the same of the Râmâyana, for the name of this work does not appear in the pre-Budhistic literature of India. The subject of the Râmâyana is again the conquest of Ceylon by the Aryans; and this conquest, as we shall see hereafter, took place in the Sûtra period. Our remarks about the Râmâyana therefore will be found in our account of the Sûtra period.

We have alluded to horse-sacrifices performed by great kings after their wars and conquests. We will conclude this section of our paper with a few quotations about the ceremony of coronation:—

“He spreads the tiger skin on the throne in such a manner that the hairs come outside and that part which covered the neck is turned eastward. For the tiger is the kshattrâ (royal power) of the beasts in the forests. The kshattrâ is the royal prince; by means of this kshattrâ, the king makes his kshattrâ (royal power) prosper. The king, when taking his seat on the throne, approaches it from behind, turning his face eastwards, kneels down with crossed legs, so that his right knee touches the earth, and, holding the throne with his hands, prays over it the following mantra:—

“May Agni ascend thee, O throne, with the Gâyatri Metre, &c.

“They now put the branch of the udambara tree on the head of the kshattriyya, and pour the liquids (which are in the large ladle) on it. (When doing so) the priest repeats the following mantras:—

“With these waters which are happy, which cure every thing, increase the royal power, and hold up the royal power, the immortal Prajapati sprinkled Indra, Soma the king, Varuna, Yama, Manu, with the same sprinkle I thee! Be the ruler over kings in this world. Thy illustrious mother bore thee as the great universal ruler over men; the blessed mother has borne thee, &c.

“Now he gives unto his hand a goblet of spirituous liquor, under the recital of the verse Svadishthayâ madishthayâ, &c. (9,1,1), *i. e.*, Purify O Soma! with thy sweetest, most exhilarating drops (the sacrificer), thou who art squeezed for Indra to be drunk by him. After having put the spirituous liquor into his hand, the priest repeats a propitiatory mantra, &c.

“He now descends (from the throne seat) facing the branch of the udambara tree.—”Aitareya Brâhmana VIII, 6 to 9.

We are then told that with this ceremony priests invested

a number of kings whose names are already known to us. Tura, the son of Kavasha, thus inaugurated Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit ; " Thence Janamejaya went everywhere, conquering the earth up to its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse." Parvata and Nûrada thus invested Yudhamsraushti, the son of Ugrasena. Vasishtha invested Sudas, the great conqueror, in the Rig-Veda hymns ; and Dîrghatamas invested Bhârata, the son of Duhshanta, with this ceremony.

We have also an excellent account of the coronation rite in the Vâja saneyi-Sanhitâ, from which we quote a remarkable passage in which the priest blesses the newly crowned king :— " May God who rules the world bestow on you the power to rule your subjects. May Fire, worshipped by householders, bestow on you supremacy over the householders. May Soma, the lord of trees, bestow on you supremacy over forests. May Vrihaspati, the god of speech, bestow on you supremacy in speech. May Indra, the highest among gods, bestow on you the highest supremacy. May Rudra, the cherisher of animals, bestow on you supremacy over animals. May Mitra, who is truth, make you supreme in truth. May Varuna, who cherishes holy works, make you supreme in holy acts."—IX, 39.

In an address to the people which follows, the priest tells them, " This is your king, O ye such-and-such tribes." The Kânva text reads thus : " This is your king, O ye Kurus, O ye Panchâlas."

We will conclude this section with an excellent piece of advice which is given to kings further on, which modern rulers will do well to remember : " If thou shalt be a ruler, then from this day judge the strong and the weak with equal justice, resolve on doing good incessantly to the public, and protect the country from all calamities."—X, 27.

### *III.—The position of Women—Social manners, laws, educational institutions, and the progress of learning.*

We have seen in the previous section that the absolute seclusion of women was unknown in ancient India. Hindu women held an honored place from the dawn of Hindu civilisation four thousand years ago ; they inherited and possessed property ; they took a share in sacrifices and religious duties ; they attended great assemblies on state occasions ; they openly frequented public thoroughfares, according to their needs, every day of their life ; they often distinguished themselves in science and the learning of their times ; and they even had their legitimate influence on politics and administration. And although they have never mixed so freely in the society of men as women do in modern Europe, yet absolute seclusion and restraint are not Hindu customs ; they were unknown in India

till the Mahomedan times, and are to this day unknown in parts of India like the Mahârâshtra, where the rule of the Moslems was brief. No ancient nation held their women in higher honor than the Hindus ; but the Hindus have been misjudged and wronged by writers unacquainted with their literature, and who received their notions of the women\* of the East from Turkish and Arab customs.

Innumerable passages could be quoted from the Brâhmana literature showing the high esteem in which women were held, but we will content ourselves with only two. The first is the celebrated conversation between Yâjñavalkya and his learned wife Maitreyî on the eve of his retreatment into forests :—

"1. Now when Yâjñavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said : "Maitreyî, verily I am going away from this my house. Forsooth let me make a settlement between thee and Kâtyânyanî."

"2. Maitreyî said : My lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it ?" "No," replied Yâjñavalkya ; "like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth?"

"3. And Maitreyî said : "What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal ? What my lord knoweth of immortality, tell that to me?"

"4. Yâjñavalkya replied : "Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say."

And then he explained the principle which is so often and so impressively taught in the Upanishads, that the Universal Self dwells in the husband, in the wife, in the sons, and in wealth, in the Brâhmins and Kshatriyas, and all the worlds, in the Devas, in all living creatures, yea, in all the universe.—Brihadâranyaka Upanishad.

Our next quotation, which is also from the same Upanishad relates to a great assembly of learned men in the court of Janaka, king of the Videhas :—

"Janaka Videha sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests of (the Asvamedha). Brâhmins of the Kurus and the Panchâlas had come thither, and Janaka wished to know which of those Brâhmins was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows, and ten padas (of gold) were fastened to each pair of horns.

"2. And Janaka spoke to them : "Ye venerable Brâhmins, he who among you is the wisest, let him drive away these cows." Then those Brâhmana durst not, but Yâjñavalkya said to his pupil "Drive them away, my dear." He replied, "O glory of the Saman !" and drove them away."

On this the Brâhmins became angry and plied the haughty

priest Yājñavalkya with questions, but Yājñavalkya was a match for them all. Asvala, the Hotri priest, Jāṣkārava Artabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyana, Ushasta Kākārāyana, Kahola Kaushîtakeya Uddālaka Aruni, and others plied Yājñavalkya with questions, but Yājñavalkya was not found wanting; the learned men, one by one, held their peace.

There was one in that great assembly—and this is a remarkable fact which throws light on the manners of the time—who was not deficient in the learning and the priestly lore of those times because she was a lady. She rose in the open assembly and said: "O Yājñavalkya, as the son of a warrior from the Kāsis or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand and rise to battle, I have risen to fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions." The questions were put and were answered, and Gārgi Vāchaknavī was silent.

As we have said before, early marriage and child-marriage were still unknown in the Brāhmana period, and we have numerous allusions to the marriage of girls at a proper age. Widow marriage was not only not prohibited, but there is distinct sanction for it; and the rites which the widow had to perform before she entered into the married state again are distinctly laid down. Polygamy, however, was allowed among the Hindus as among many other ancient nations, but was confined in India to kings and wealthy lords as a rule. Polyandry, we need hardly say, was unknown in Aryan India: "For one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the same time."—Aitareya Brāhmana III, 23.

There is in the Satapatha Brāhmana (I, 8, 3, 6) a curious passage prohibiting marriages among blood relations to the third or fourth generation: "Hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the one to be enjoyed (the wife); for now kingsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together saying, in the fourth (or) third man (generation) we unite." The rule of prohibition became more strict in later times.

Women in India have ever been remarkable for their faithfulness and their dutious affection towards their husbands, and female incontinence is comparatively rare. A certain rite is described in Brihadāranyaka Upanishad VI, 4, 12, by which an injured husband can bring down curses on his wife's lover: "Therefore let no one wish even for sport with the wife of a Srotriya who knows this (rite), for he who knows this is a dangerous enemy."

In the Satapatha Brāhmana, again, there is a passage (II, 5, 2, 20), which bears a remarkable resemblance to the confession of Roman Catholics:—

"Thereupon the Pratiprasthâtri returns (to the place where

the sacrificer's wife is seated). When he is about to lead the wife away, he asks her 'With whom holdest thou intercourse?' Now when a woman who belongs to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits (a sin) against Varuna. He therefore asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed, the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth: this is why he thus asks her. And whatever (connexion) she confesses not, that indeed will turn out injurious to the relatives."

As in the Rig-Veda period, the food of the people consisted of various kinds of grain as well as the meat of animals. In the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*, VI, III, 13, ten kinds of seeds are mentioned, *viz.*, rice and barley (*bṛihiyavâs*), sesamum and kidney beans (*tilamâshâs*), millet and panic seed (*anupriyan gavas*), wheat (*godhûmâs*), lentils (*masûrâs*), pulse (*khalvâs*) and vetches (*khalakulâs*).

In the White Yajur-Veda XVIII, 12, we have a list of most of these grains, beside Mudga, Nivâra, and Syâmâkar. Grains were ground and sprinkled with curds, honey and clarified butter, and so made into different kinds of cake. Milk and its various preparations have ever been a favorite food in India.

Animal food was in use in the Brâhmana period, and the cow and the bull were often laid under requisition. In *Aitareya Brâhman* I, 15, we learn that an ox or a cow which miscarries is killed when a king or an honored guest is received.

In the Brâhmana of the Black Yajur-Veda, as Dr. Rajendra Lala points out, the kind and character of the cattle which should be slaughtered in minor sacrifices, for the gratification of particular divinities, are laid down in detail. Thus a dwarf ox is to be sacrificed to Vishnu, a drooping horned bull to Indra, a thick-legged cow to the wind, a barren cow to Vishnu and Varuna, a black cow to Pushan, a cow having two colors to Mitra and Varuna, a red cow to Rudra, &c, &c. In a larger and more important ceremonial, like the *Asvamedha*, no less than 180 domestic animals, including horses, bulls, cows, goats, deer, &c., were sacrificed. The same Brâhmana lays down instructions for carving, and the *Gopatha Brâhmana* tells us who received the different portions. The priests got the tongue, the neck, the shoulder, the rump, the legs, &c., while the master of the house (wisely) appropriated to himself the sirloin, and his wife had to content herself with the pelvis! Plentiful libations of the Soma beer were allowed to wash down the meat!

In the *Satapatha Brâhmana*, IV, 5, second Brâhmana, we have a detailed account of the slaughter of a barren cow and its cooking. In III, 1, 2, 21, of the same Brâhmana, there is an amusing discussion as to the propriety of eating the meat of an ox or a cow. The conclusion is not very definite: "Let

him (the priest) not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox." Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said (taking apparently a very practical view of the matter), "I for one eat it, provided that it is tender!"

The practical Yājñavalkya could scarcely, however, have contemplated the wonderful effects of vegetable and animal diets respectively, as laid down in the following passage from the Brihadâraṇyaka Upanishad (VI, 4, 17 and 18):—

"And if a man wishes that a learned daughter should be born to him, and that she should live to her full age, then after having prepared boiled rice with sesamum and butter they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

"And if a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a public man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that he should live to his full age, then after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring. The meat should be of a young or of an old bull."

We scarcely thought that the venerable composers of the Vedic Brâhmanas ever suspected any sort of connexion between beef-eating and public-speaking, such as has manifested itself in later days!

Pleasing pictures of a happy state of society are presented in many passages which we meet with in the literature of the period: "May the Brâhmanas in our kingdom," says the priest at a horse-sacrifice, "live in piety; may our warriors be skilled in arms and mighty; may our cows yield us profuse milk, our bullocks carry their weights, and our horses be swift; may our women defend their homes, and warriors be victorious; may our youths be refined in their manners. . . May Parjanya shower rain in every home and in every region; may our crops yield grains and ripen, and we attain our wishes and live in bliss."—White Yajur-Veda XXII, 22.

The wealth of rich men consisted in gold and silver and jewels; in cars, horses, cows; mules and slaves; in houses and fertile fields, and even in elephants. (Chhândogya Upanishad V, 13, 17, and 19; VII, 24; Satapatha Brâhmana III, 2, 48; Taittiriya Upanishad I, 5, 12, &c., &c.) Gold is considered a proper gift at sacrifice, the gift of silver (Rajatam Hiranyam) being strictly prohibited. The reason is sufficiently grotesque as the reasons given in the Brâhmanas generally are. When the gods claimed back the goods deposited with Agni, he wept, and the tears he shed became silver; and hence if silver is given as *dakshina*, there will be weeping in the house! The reason scarcely veils the cupidity of Brâhmanas, which was the real cause of gifts in gold.

We have allusions to gold treasure hidden under the earth (Chhândogya VIII, 3, 2), and in a passage which we have already quoted, describing the learned discussions in King Janaka's court, we find that the king enclosed ten thousand cows and ten padas of gold were fastened to each pair of horns. Sâyana explains *pada* as a measure, being one-fourth of a *pala*. Was there a coin of this measure?

Not only was the use of gold and silver known, but several other metals are mentioned in White Yajur Veda XVIII, 13. The following passage from the Chhândogya Upanishad is also to the point:—

“As one binds gold by means of *lavana* (borax), and silver by means of gold, and tin by means of silver, and lead by means of tin, and iron (*loha*) by means of lead, and wood by means of iron, and also by means of leather.”—IV, 17, 7.

Further on, in the same Upanishad, we are told that by one nugget of gold, all that is made of gold is known.—VI, 1, 5.

In Aitareya Brâhmana VIII, 22, we are told, evidently in the language of exaggeration, that the son of Atri presented ten thousand elephants and ten thousand slave girls, “well endowed with ornaments on their necks, who had been gathered from all quarters.”

As among other ancient nations, criminals were often tried by the fire ordeal:

“They bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: ‘He has taken something, he has committed theft.’ (When he denies, they say): ‘I eat the hatchet for him.’ If he committed the theft, then he . . . grasps the heated hatchet, he is burnt and he is killed. But if he did not commit the theft, then he . . . grasps the heated hatchet, he is not burnt, and he is delivered.” (Chhândogya VI, 16). Murder, theft, drunkenness and adultery are generally the offences alluded to.

The punishment of criminals and a proper administration of the law are the foundations on which all civilised societies are built, and we find a warm appreciation of law in some passages in the Brâhmana literature: “Law is the *kshatra* (power) of the *kshatra*, therefore there is nothing higher than the law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with the help of the law as with the help of a king. Thus the law is what is called the true. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares the law; and if he declares the law, they say he declares what is true. Thus both are the same.” (Brihadâranyaka I, 4, 14.) No nobler definition of law has been discovered by all the jurists in the world.

Still more interesting to us is the moral teaching which we find interspersed in the literature of the period. We will quote only one passage:



“ Say what is true ! Do thy duty ! Do not neglect the study of the Veda ! After having brought to thy teacher the proper reward, do not cut off the line of children ! Do not swerve from the truth ! Do not swerve from duty ! Do not neglect what is useful ! Do not neglect greatness ! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda !

“ Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the gods and fathers ! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god ! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god ! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god ! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee.”—(Taittirīyaka Upanishad I, 11.)

We have seen before that the courts of enlightened and learned kings, like those of the Videhas, the Kâshis, and the Kuru-Panchâlas, were the principal seats of learning in those times. Learned priests were retained in such courts for the performance of sacrifices, and also for the purpose of the cultivation of learning ; and many of the Brâhmanas and Upanishads which have been handed down to us were probably composed in the schools which these priests founded. On great occasions men of learning came from distant towns and villages, and discussions were held not only on ritualistic matters, but on such subjects as the human mind, the destination of the soul after death, the future world, the nature of the gods the fathers, and the different orders of being, and lastly, on the nature of that Universal Being who has manifested himself in all the works we see.

But learning was not confined to royal courts. There were Parishads or Brâhmanic settlements for the cultivation of learning, answering to the Universities of Europe, and young men went to these Parishads to acquire learning. Thus in Brihadarânyaka Upanishad VI, 2, we learn that Svetaketu went to the Parishad of the Panchâlas for his education. Max Müller, in his History of Sanskrit Literature, quotes passages which show that, according to modern writers, a Parishad ought to consist of twenty-one Brahmans well versed in philosophy, theology, and law ; but these rules, as he points out, are laid down in later law books, and do not describe the character of the Parishads of the Brâhmana period. Parâsara says that four, or even three able men from amongst the Brâhmanas in a village, who know the Veda and keep the sacrificial fire, form a Parishad.

Besides these Parishads, individual teachers established what would be called Schools in Europe, and often collected round themselves students from various parts of the country. These students lived with their teacher, served them in a

menial capacity during the time of their apprenticeship, and then after twelve years or longer, made suitable presents and returned to their homes and their longing relatives. Learned Brâhmanas who had retired to forests in their old age often collected such students round them, and much of the boldest speculations in the Brâhmana period has proceeded from these sylvan and retired seats of sanctity and learning. Such is the way in which learning has been cultivated and preserved during thousands of years among the Hindus, a nation who valued learning and knowledge perhaps more than any other nation in ancient or modern times. Good works and religious rites lead, according to the Hindu creed, to happier states of life and to their due reward ; but true knowledge alone leads to final union with God.

The first elementary knowledge of astronomical knowledge is discernable in the Rig-Veda itself. The year was divided into twelve lunar months, and a thirteenth or intercalary month was added to adjust the lunar with the solar year (I, 25, 8.) The six seasons of the year were named Madhu, Mâdhava, Sukra, Suchi, Nabha and Nabhasya, and were connected with different gods (II, 36). The different phases of the moon were observed and have been personified as duties. Râkâ is the full moon, Sinivâli is the last day before the new moon, and Gungu is the new moon (II, 32). The position of the moon with regard to the Nakshatras or the lunar mansions is also alluded to (VIII, 3,20), and some of the constellations of the lunar mansions are also named in X, 85, 13. Such was the elementary knowledge of astronomy in the Rig-Veda period.

As might be expected, there was a considerable progress made in the Brâhmana period. Astronomy had now come to be regarded as a distinct science, and astronomers by profession were called Nakshatra Darsa and Ganaka. (Taittirîya Brâhmana IV, 5, and White Yajur-Veda XXX, 10, 20.) The twenty-eight lunar mansions are also enumerated singly in the Black Yajur-Veda, and a second and later enumeration occurs in the Atharva Sanhitâ and in the Taittirîya Brâhmana. An interesting passage in Satapatha Brâhmana (II, 1,2) shows how sacrificial rites were regulated by the position of the moon in reference to these lunar asterisms. It is too long to be quoted, and we will therefore give extracts :—

“ 1. He may set up two fires under the *Krittikâs* (the pleiades), for they, the *Krittikâs*, are doubtless Agni's asterism.  
\* \* 2. Moreover, the other lunar asterisms consist of one, two, three or four (stars), so that the *Krittikâs* are the most numerous, (a constellation consisting of seven visible stars). \* \* \* \*

6. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Rohini*. For under Rohini it was that Prajapati, when desirous of

projeny (or creatures) set up his fires \* \* 8. He may also set up his fires under (the asterism of) *Mrigastirsha*. For *Mrigastirsha*, indeed, is the head of *Prajapati*. \* \* He may also set up his fires under the *Phalgunis*. They, the *Phalgunis*, are *Indra's* asterism, and even correspond to him in name; for, indeed, *Indra* is also called *Arjuna*, this being his mystic name; and they (they *Phalgunis*) are also called *Arjunis*. \* \* 12. Let him set up his fires under the asterism *Hastâ*, whosoever should wish that (presents) should be offered him: then indeed (that will take place) forthwith; for whatever is offered with the hand (*hasta*), that indeed is given to him. 13. He may also set up his fires under *Chitrâ*," &c. &c.

But not only was the setting up of the sacrificial fires regulated by the constellations, but sacrifices lasting for a year were regulated by the sun's annual course. Dr. Martin Haug, the editor and translator of the *Aitareya Brâhmana*, has made some excellent remarks on this subject which deserve to be quoted:

"A regulation of the calendar by such (astronomical) observations was an absolute necessity for the Brahmins; for the proper time of commencing and ending their sacrifices, principally the so-called *Sattras* or sacrificial sessions, could not be known without an accurate knowledge of the time of the sun's northern and southern progress. The knowledge of the calendar forms such an essential part of the ritual that many important conditions of the latter cannot be carried out without the former. The sacrifices are allowed to commence only at certain lucky constellations and in certain months; so, for instance, as a rule, no great sacrifice can commence during the sun's southern progress (*dakshinâyana*); for this is regarded up to the present day as an unlucky period for the Brahmins, in which even to die is believed to be a misfortune. The great sacrifices take place generally in spring in the months *Chaitra* and *Vaisâkha* (April and May.) The *Sattras*, which lasted for a year, were, as one may learn from a careful perusal of the 4th Book of the *Aitareya Brâhmana*, nothing but an imitation of the sun's yearly course. They were divided into two distinct parts, each consisting of six months of thirty days each; in the midst of both was the *Vishuvan*, *i. e.*, equator or central day, cutting the whole *Sattra* into two halves. The ceremonies were in both the halves exactly the same; but they were in the latter half performed in an inverted order. This represents the increase of the days in the northern and their decrease in the southern progress; for both increase and decrease take place exactly in the same proportions."—Introduction, p. 46 and 47.

"The *Vishuvan* day," says the *Aitareya Brâhmana* (IV, 22), "is like a man. Its first half is like the right half (of a man), and its latter half like the left half. This is the reason that it (the

performance of the six months' ceremonies following the Vishuvan day) is called the latter (half). The Viṣhuvan day is (just as) the head of a man whose both sides are equal." Further on (IV, 26), we have an account of the seasons: "The Dikshâ (rite of initiation) went away from the gods. They made it enter into the two months of spring (*Vasanta*), and joined it to it; but they did not get it out (of these months for using it). They then made it subsequently enter the two hot months (*Grishma*), the two rainy months (*Varsha*), the two months of autumn (*Sarat*), and the two winter months, (*Hemanta*), and joined it to them. They did not get it out of the two winter months. Then they joined it to the two months of the dewy season (*Sisira*); they (finally) got it out of these." We find here that the names of the seasons are the same as are at present known in India. We find these identical names of the seasons in many other works of this period (e. g., White Yajur-Veda XXI, 23 to 28. &c. &c.), but different names of the twelve months are given in the last named work (XVIII, 28)

Besides astronomy, other branches of learning were also cultivated in the Brâhmana period. Thus in Chhândogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2), we find Nârada saying to Sanatkumâra, "I know the Rig-Veda, sir, the Yajur-Veda, the Sâma Veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihâsa Purâna; the Veda of the Vedas (grammar); the Pitrya (the rules for the sacrifices for the ancestors); the Râsi (the science of numbers); the Daiva (the science of portents); the Nidhi (the science of time); the Vâkovâkya (logic); the Ekâyana (ethics); the Deva-Vidyâ (etymology); the Brahma-Vidyâ (pronunciation, prosody. &c.); the Bhûta-Vidyâ (the science of demons); the Kshatra-Vidya (the science of weapons); the Nakshatra-Vidya (astronomy); the Sarpa and Devajana-Vidya (the science of serpents and of genii). All this I know, sir."

In Brihadâranyaka (II, 4, 10), we are told that "Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sâma-Veda, Atharvângirasas, Itihâsa (legends), Purâna (cosmogonies) Vidyâ (knowledge), the Upanishads, Slokas (verses), Sûtras (prose rules), Anu-Vjâkhyânas (glosses), Vyâkhyânas (commentaries), have all been breathed forth from the Supreme Being.

Again in the eleventh book of the Satapatha Brâhmana, we have mention of the three Vedas, the Atharvângirasas, the Aunsâsanâs, the Vidyâs, the Vâkovâkya, the Itihâsa Purâna, the Narasansîs and the Gâthâs.

Professor Weber is of opinion that these names do not necessarily imply distinct species of work which existed in the Brâhmana period, and which have been since lost to

us. He points out that many of the names merely imply the different subjects which we still find existing in the Brâhmanas. According to this opinion, it was at a later age, in the Sûtra period mostly, that these different subjects which we find interwoven in the Brâhmanas and Upanishads developed themselves and branched out as separate subjects of study, taught in the separate works and compositions which have come down to us.

There is considerable force in this argument, but at the same time it seems very likely that on many of the subjects enumerated above separate works existed in the Brâhmana period, which have been lost to us because they have been replaced by more elaborate and scientific works of a later date on the same subjects.

There is a passage in the White Yajush Sanhitâ (XVII, 2 and 3) which shows that the science of numbers had already received a high development, and we find names of the multiples of ten up to 10000000000000000, which is called Parârdha.

A fairly correct knowledge of anatomy was obtained from the victims which were slain and carefully dessected at sacrifices and there are some curious passages in the Upanishads which show that the heart and the arteries and the veins struck the thinkers of those times. In Kanshitaki IV, 20, we are told, "The arteries of the heart called Hita extend from the heart of the person towards the surrounding body. Small as a hair divided a thousand times, they stand full of their fluid of various colors, white, black, yellow, red." In later Upanishads, Prasna and Katha, one, and probably both of which belong to the Atharva-Veda, we are told that there are 101 arteries (Katha VI, 16; Prasna III, 6.)

*(To be continued.)*

R. C. DUTT, C. S.

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#### ART. IV.—CHRISTIAN PAGANISM.

**I**N China, we are informed by the learned, there are three religions ; although some of the Chinese contrive to profess a mixture of the three, which may almost count for a fourth. There is Buddhism, with its shrines and its images, its alien liturgy, its convents, incense, and lighted candles. There is Confucianism with its 'five virtues,' and its dogma of self-rectification. Lastly, there is the usual compromise with superstition, stupidity, and fear, known there as Tavism, which is practically the worship of evil powers, and a fragment of blackmail to the devil. Nor, if we will look candidly on any European society, as an intelligent traveller from China might do, shall we find matters differing very much in the religions of what is called 'Christendom.' Catholics, Roman, Anglican, and Greek, delight in just such splendours and formalities as please the Buddhists. The lower middle classes, and the less intelligent among the workmen, like their religion strong and hot, with an eternity of torment to be saved from, by belonging to various special creeds, persuasions, or denominations, all based on this common principle of fear. And lastly, there is the religion of morality and virtue ; often based on determinism, yet preaching the doctrine of self-rectification and the formation of habits.

The last-named is the system most in vogue amongst our modern eclectics. Popular writers, endeavouring to mingle its precepts with the salvage of orthodoxy, create a temporary lull in the fever of modern feeling by the *placebo* of sham-science and reconciliation. We are to be damned in a circle instead of an endless right line ; or 'damnation' means something like 'stultification ;' or eternal, means spiritual ; or some other concession is offered to a *zeitgeist* which objects to corporal punishment. Or those who cannot be put off by these smug palliatives are accosted by Positivism. It must be admitted, they are told, that Christianity has broken down : Christianity has shown that it can produce saints, and that it is especially able to produce sinners. But citizens it cannot form. We are what our circumstances have made us. The only cure is in discipline. Like the Confucians, we must seek the reform of society in the reform of self. The latest and most sympathetic of the writers of this school is Mr. Cotter Morison, he tells us plainly to think no more of saving our own souls :

but to confine our labors to comforting other people's bodies ; the worship of God is to give way to the service of man.

It is not ours to compose such litigation. But it may be excusable to offer a question from the outer bar or the jury-box. Is it Christianity, in truth, that has broken down? or is the quarrel rather one of European Confucianism, with false forms of religion, with pagan ritual, and with heathen superstition? This is no idle question ; and on the nature of our answer may depend the future of the best part of the human race. If it should appear that the official species and shapes which a thinker like Mr. Morison attacks are no legitimate product of the teaching of Jesus and of Paul, the ground may be cleared for an inquiry as to what that teaching really is, and how far we have yet adopted, or may hereafter adopt, the principles it implies or inculcates.

Mr. Morison concludes his brilliant "introductory" chapter with the remark, that "it would be rash to expect that a transition from theology to positivism, from the service of God to the service of man, could be accomplished without jeopardy." But it would surely require a certain amount of what one can scarcely call anything but bias, to admit the opposition here postulated. There is nothing in fundamental New Testament piety to warrant the idea of a service of God that is not shown in the service of man. Dogma, ritual, apostolic succession, sacerdotalism, may or may not be serviceable to man. Such things fluctuate from age to age, from place to place ; and sometimes survive and linger after the extinction of the conditions that called them forth. But again the question emerges *Are they Christianity?*

We must beware, in all arguments, of equivocation ; how much more in this most extremely serious and important matter. Like many another word, 'Christianity' is a term susceptible of various meanings. We often use it, no doubt, to express what is the current opinion of a so-called 'Christian country ;' a form of religion claiming to be founded on a belief in Jesus, established by law, or settled by public opinion, in a particular nation, at a particular period. But there is another, a more distinct, and a more verifiable signification. If a scientific inhabitant of another planet were called upon to define Christianity, can it be supposed that he would accept as a type, the Church of ancient Byzantium, of mediæval Rome, of Scotland in the last century, or even of Canterbury in the present day? Would he not rather inquire—what was the doctrine of the founder, what were the practices and institutions of his immediate followers? So instructed, would he give the name to any systematic theology, or to any scheme of hierarchy that had happened to characterise any special form of religion

bearing the title of "Christianity?" And is there anything in the teachings of S. James or of S. Paul, or in the best authenticated utterances of our Lord, which permits of antithesis between the service of God and that of man?

To avoid all controversial ground, let us confine ourselves to records that are generally admitted to be genuine. That the teaching of Jesus was practical rather than theological, we find evidence in the sayings ascribed to him in the Gospel according to S. Mark. Particular reference may be made to such passages as x 18, xii 31, xiii 32, xiv 36, xv 34, where his humanity (in either or both senses of the word) is consistently indicated. If it be said that we do not know certainly that these sayings are correctly reported, it will perhaps be allowed that his brother, had some reason to know what was his real doctrine. What then, is the record of James? In how many of the various forms of Christianity, so-called, have the principles inculcated in ii 8, 9, been obeyed? It is still more strongly evident from the well-known passage i. 27, how very different all forms of recent Christianity are from the religion of Christ.

Or take S. Paul, the best witness, in a forensic sense—the man who comes into court giving his name and address, saying: "I, Paul of Tarsus, once a persecutor, but converted, whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell?" A visionary, it may be said; but none the less respectable by his social position and his education. In the Epistle to the Romans, the only theology is one that exhibits Jesus Christ not as God, but as a messenger of God, mediating between that unknown power and man: We rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation? We are heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ, the "first-born among many brethren?" And this is the application of the brotherhood: "Be tenderly affectioned one to another, in honour preferring one another?" And so forth (xii. 10 to xiii. 10). Turn the page, and we find St. Paul expressly claiming to "have the mind of Christ" (i. or ii. 16). This first Epistle to the Church at Corinth contains, it is true, much that is mystical, much that is peculiar to the position and opinions of the writer; but it contains marvellously little of any form of modern Christianity, or of those things of which Mr. Morison shows the dangers. It contains that ardent description of charity, or "Christian love," as the revised version has it, which puts humanity upon a plane immeasurably above prophesy and above faith, and even above the acted conduct of the philanthrope or the martyr: love that takes no account of evil, seeks not its own, is not provoked, covereth all things, endureth all things. Who is the Pope or Bishop, or chief pastor of this or that denomination



who has fulfilled that ideal? But there is no room in this Epistle for the dogma of Athanasius: 'The son also shall be subjected . . . that God may be all in all.'

It were useless to multiply instances. The doctrines of modern churches are not to be found in the teaching of the founder of Christianity; and, therefore, it is unjust to impute to them or to their religion consequences with which they have had no concern.

The genesis of theology is plain to those who have studied such books as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, or Milman's *Latin Christianity*. The origin of the hierarchy is not of a different order. In the *Acts*, we see how the Diaconate arose, in the selection of officials to administer the contributions of the charitable amongst indigent believers. Priesthood there was none; the elders, out of whose great name the word "priest" has grown, were merely the mature heads of Christian families. Bishops were "overseers" appointed, as the Churches became more numerous, to see that the alms were justly distributed. The early Christian machinery was that of a modern masonic lodge or benefit society among the Jews. But when the churches came under imperial patronage, all this naturally changed. In the East, Christianity absorbed the feasts and holidays of heathendom almost universally; in the West, it did much the same, but added a hierarchy borrowed from that city, out of whose august remains it built its edifices, and whose titles and œcumenical attributes it transferred to its supreme Pontiff. In such wise, and in no other way, arose the Church of Rome.

Meanwhile the lower forms of paganism were never quite destroyed. A belief in saints and demons, in good and evil angels, continues to prevail. Then came a stirring among the Teutonic nations, the latest to embrace the Christian paganism of Rome, the first to throw it off. Protestantism has been called a "half-way-house to free thinking"; but its supporters have remained there a long time without making the rest of the journey. Protestants still celebrate the Nativity, for example, at a season when it could not have occurred, only because the end of December was the date of a great Roman festival. Sunday is still the great day of observance, in place of Saturday, the true Sabbath, because the Emperor Constantine found the day of Apollo observed by his heathen subjects. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are to be observed in several pagan mythologies; and traces of Buddhism still linger in our cathedrals. But the righteousness, the self-sacrifice, the earnest well-doing, which Mr. Morison misses in all modern forms of Christianity,—these are the points which Jesus did not borrow, and which to this day remain exclusively his own.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter upon a critical review of Mr. Morison's book ; all that can be profitably attempted is to illustrate by a few, almost fortuitous, instances the thesis that a true religion of Jesus may be discoverable which will not be exposed to the exceptions that the author has, most justly, taken to many of the tenets of the various existing forms of orthodoxy and their consequences. One obvious objection may be taken to this position. It may be said that the doctrines of Perdition and Election, denounced in the book, are integral portions of the teaching of Jesus and his immediate followers ; and that these, if no others, remain to form an insoluble difficulty. Jesus, observes Mr. Morison, taught that in the battle of life the enemy had to some extent the victory. Of the helpless children of God there were few who found the narrow way, while the many must tread the downward path that leadeth to destruction. And Paul justified this seeming defeat of the Almighty by imputing it to His will. So thinks our author ; enforcing his opinion by citing the famous passage from the Epistle to the Romans (ix. 18—21.) Undoubtedly, if the words of Jesus have been correctly reported on this momentous topic, they seem to bear out the theory that Satan was regarded as having conquered by the criterion of what in war is called "the butcher's bill," and by having effected a permanent lodgment on the Universe of Creation. These views have been accepted far and wide. Not only have churches in the East and the West sought to use them as a persuasive or a deterrent, but they have been adopted in the spurious Christianity founded by the Prophet of Arabia. Yet such interpretations are so repugnant to the common sense and conscience of mankind, that thinkers in all quarters have struggled against their adoption. Not only professed Universalists in Europe and in America, but even the usually docile followers of Islam have repudiated it. Umar Khayyám, the astronomer-poet of Khorásán, taking up the metaphor of Paul, asks, What ! did the hand then of the potter shake ?" And elsewhere : The Universal World is filled with thine ordinances. I cannot choose but obey them ; why, then, call me "sinner ?" In one passage of unsurpassed daring, he even offers his forgiveness to God for having made him such as he is, and set him in such a world.

The explanation is that the ideas of predestination and of everlasting torment, though not (like most of the flaws of our current systems) derived from Western paganism, are taken from a heathen system that has been no less potent in the East. In the purer theism of the ancient Hebrews, there was no definite doctrine of a future state, as was first shown in the *Divine Legation* of Warburton. Vague conjectures of a shadowy *post mortem* existence were harboured by some, but were

stoutly resisted by others, as by the author of *Ecclesiastes*. But in the captivity the Jews were brought in contact with the Persians, where a system of dualism was in full operation and sway. When the Jews returned to Jerusalem, many of them brought back ideas of this kind which they fitted on as best they might to the faith of their fathers. The Satan of *Job* had been a Divine minister, permitted to tempt one righteous man for a divine purpose. The new view of Satan was that of an enemy of God and man, to whose attacks all were exposed. The Zoroastrian belief in a future life of rewards and punishments was adopted by a large and influential party, though contested to the last by the more strictly orthodox, described in the New Testament, under the collective title of Sadducees, from whose ranks the priesthood continued to be filled. Traces of this controversy are clearly to be seen. Thus, in the second book of *Maccabees* XII. 43-51.—we are told that Judas, having made a collection of money in honour of some of his followers who had been slain in the war, sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering . . . “in that he was mindful of the resurrection; for if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly; it was an holy and good thought.”

Here we seem to discern the genesis and growth of the belief in a general resurrection, and of rewards for the righteous. The adoption of the Manichæan part of the system appears an unavoidable consequence. Without saying that Paul went so far—indeed, symptoms of opinions favourable to universalism may be, and have been cited from his writings—it is permissible to say that when his teaching came to be applied by the early fathers who moulded the nascent system, the prevalent feelings would be read with such passages as that referred to in *The Service of Man*. Disciples already persuaded that the doctrine of a resurrection was inextricably connected with a belief in eternal reward and punishment, would naturally appropriate the words attributed to Jesus and the Pauline view of election, and join them to those doctrines. And hence a system, of the kind objected to by Mr. Morison, would necessarily come to form an integral part of official Christianity. But it would, like all the other difficulties, be the product of heathenism.

Not only must Manichæism be detached from the true faith, but Anthropomorphism too. Jesus, in this sense, an Agnostic. “No man hath seen God at any time” is his positive declaration. Mr. Morison seems in one place (p. 43) to impute to modern Agnostics a denial of God’s existence.

But they are not such. "fools," to use the uncompromising stigma of the Psalmist. Dogmatic theology may be of local and transitory growth; Theism and emotional religion are as much a necessity of the human mind as music. Music does not express anything articulately: it has been said that twenty cultivated hearers of a new sonata would, if interrogated separately, give twenty different accounts of what it meant. So of religion: a number of different emotions may be raised in an equal number of pure and sensitive hearts by meditation and by suffering; but all alike would be affected by a sense of the solemnity of the unknown, and the boundless mystery of the unconditioned on which our little lives are based. The author gives (44-7) a passage from Mr. Herbert Spencer as showing that the conception of God, stripped of its human attributes, "ceases to be conceivable." But the general scope of that great man's philosophy is, surely, to demonstrate that this unknown God—whom Paul also preached—is yet, always, and everywhere. We know not *what* such a familiar thing as light is: we do not deny its existence. An anthropomorphic God, says Mr. Morison, is the only God whom men can worship: that might be the very reason why, divested of its excrescences, the belief in Jesus has been so potent a factor in modern civilisation. Numbers of brave men and patient tender women have thought they found the invisible divinity made manifest to them in the perfect humanity of Christ Jesus, but over that vision mythological theology has no doubt cast a dismal veil. Let us hope that the time is not far off when, ceasing to confound the veil with the thing veiled, men will find the true vision and its blessing.

With such limitations, a candid judgment must confess the truth of the chapters that follow. Christianity, as Mr. Morison understands it, has not always been productive of consolation to its followers, or of purity and rectitude of conduct. There is no possibility of evading the instances given; the words of the authorities are quoted textually, and give positive proof of doubt, distress, misery and wickedness of all sorts, distinctly arising out of various forms of orthodox belief. For example, in regard to the terrors of orthodoxy, we find passages from Cardinal Wiseman, John Bunyan, the Pascals, and Jeremy Taylor, impartially and indiscriminately showing how members of such varying bodies felt them. Thomas à Kempis plainly says: "On a true account, I have not deserved even the smallest consolation." The same feeling might be shown to point the Musalman. Thus Omar Kháyyám holds it presumption even to pray:—

'Why wilt thou say "Have mercy, Lord, on me"?  
Is it from such as thou that He will learn?'

In matters of morality, the official creeds have done no better. By numerous instances, taken from the histories of Catholic and Protestant lands, the author shows that various sorts of Antinomianism have constantly prevailed. "Salvation," he declares, "depends on repentance and the subjective attitude of the soul towards God. And this repentance is powerful to cancel any number of previous breaches of the moral law." This may be the too common consequence of orthodox doctrines; but it may also be shown *not* to be the spirit of Christ. Taking the founder of Christianity by isolated sayings (which may have been erroneously reported) such a tendency may indeed be imputed to his teaching. But, judging by the effect that he produced on his immediate followers, by James and Paul in their recorded discourses, salvation means deliverance from wrong-doing, and repentance means change of heart. A sense of moral duty is constantly contemplated as the substitute for the indulgence of passion; the love of neighbours and brethren, and submission to constituted authority, are enjoined in place of self-love.

And this altruistic tendency was in the air when those teachers appeared, as we may see from Juvenal, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Where is there a stronger precept of self-denial than that at the end of Juvenal's *Tenth Satire*?

"Anger repressed, best quenched, and work preferred  
To pomps and vanities that sway the herd."

It is not from princes of the church or spiritual peers that we have learned such lessons; nor, of course, are they the special and peculiar property of any particular religion. But what the Stoics had begun to learn from the corruption of the life around them in Italy, was taught to Essenes and Ebionites and humble Galilleans by similar conditions in Syria. It is heathenism that has weakened the lessons, and brought back into modern Christianity the feathers of Sardanapalus.

In his seventh chapter the author pauses from his denunciations of modern corruption—stern as those of an ancient Hebrew prophet. He pays a fitting tribute to the true religion by showing some of the saintly and beautiful lives and characters that it has produced. The legitimate deduction is, that an idea of duty may be stimulated by various motives; and that among these the desire of imitating Christ has been one of the most efficacious. Might we not all, in our several degrees, have been brought to cherish that idea by proper teaching?

That seems to be our author's conclusion. The proper cultivation of human nature he asserts to be the one object to be aimed at. As a skilful musician can perform a piece of music without looking at the notes, or even at the keyboard, so by

the incessant formation of good habits we should make the practice of virtue automatic. So mote it be!

Scant justice has been done to a sincere, eloquent and attractive work. Although it is probably the sharpest blow ever delivered at official orthodoxy, it will be found full of benefit to those who can use it with discretion. But it does not carry conviction against a possible religion which, while recognising the excellence of Jesus as a moral reformer, should discard all the mythological, metaphysical, or mystic elements promulgated in his name. He said that we could not know God save through himself; he inculcated the service of man. In him we find an anticipation of what is best in Positivism and Agnosticism. What is not of Him in Christianity is Pagan.

H. G. KEFNE.

## ART. V.—MILITARY OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN POLICE.

AT a time when the Viceroy has so handsomely acknowledged the good services of the Burmah Military Police, whose duties have been “as arduous, as dangerous, and as trying to their health as those to which the Military Forces of Her Majesty in Burmah have been exposed, &c., &c.,” and when the same high authority added that “they have in no degree fallen behind the other Police Forces of India;” thus indirectly bearing testimony to the services rendered in former days by the Indian Police under Military officers, we think that a favorable opportunity of giving a brief *resumé* of the history of these officers, the purposes for which they were lent to the Civil Governments originally, and how they have been forced to drift with the tide of subsequent changes in the Police system till they have become a Civil body, and been cut off from their original family and calling—all but in name—and are now holding positions incompatible with their comparatively high army rank.

We do this because with these changes of Police administration, a new set of officials have crept in during the past quarter of a century, who have no knowledge of the actual facts of the case, and are apt to think that these Military officers entered the Police solely to better themselves, and because they thought it would pay better than a Military career.

We, therefore, purpose to go back some 30 years and examine the question fairly, and without bias, one way or another, giving quotations from the press from time to time to shew what lookers-on thought of the case of these officers and their treatment by Government.

In 1858 a Force, called the Military Police, was raised in India to assist in quelling the mutiny, and their duties were of just as arduous and dangerous a character as those of the Military Forces of Her Majesty at that time. The services of the Military Officers and their Police were repeatedly acknowledged by the authorities, although beyond the pale of military reward, except in some few instances, such as for instance, the 1st Bengal Police Battalion, which was bodily transferred subsequently to the regular army, and is well known as Rattray's Sikhs; the squadron of the Rainguth Cavalry, which was originally a Civil corps, but subsequently, as a reward for good services during the mutiny, was raised to a full Regiment, and removed to the Military Department (only to be disbanded the following year, however!)—the Mairwarrah Battalion, which also was taken over by the Government of India, and is still retained on the strength of the army :—and so on.

But as the country settled down again after the Mutiny had been quelled, the Government could no longer afford to keep up a large armed force like the Military Police, while at the same time a wholesale disbandment of the Native Army also ensued. This was in 1861.

In place, however, of the Military Police, a new Police Force came into existence about this time, to which a large number of Military officers were appointed, and we will quote just a few passages from our Review, No. 117 of July 1874, to shew how this came to pass:—*vide* Article on "The Bengal Police."

"In 1855 the European community throughout India was startled by the revelations of the Madras Torture Commission, and the question of Police reforms again came to the front. The Commissioners appointed to investigate alleged cases of torture thus concluded their report to the Madras Government: "But it seems to us questionable whether, to render the Police efficient, it must not be placed under independent European authority. Although the Collector would still remain the political head of his whole province, and retain all power and authority as Justice of the Peace and Magistrate, it will probably be thought that the Police cannot be organised, brought up to, or kept in, the requisite state of discipline, unless it be commanded by an officer, who should give his whole undivided time and energies exclusively to that object."

These words struck the key-note of all subsequent attempts at Police reform. Much discussion took place as to the precise shape these reforms were to take, and long correspondence followed between the Government of Madras, the Government of India, and the Court of Directors, which ended in 1857 by sanction being accorded by the Honorable Court of Directors to the re-organization of the Police on the system advocated by the Madras Government. The main feature of that system, and one upon which all the authorities were unanimously agreed, was "that the Police should be made a separate department, organised, trained, and controlled by its own officers under the direct supervision of Government." Lord Harris, then Governor of Madras, in his Minute of September 1856, wrote very strongly on this point, insisting on the entire separation of the Police from the Magistracy, but holding that the Collector-Magistrate, as Chief Administrative Officer, should direct the distribution of the Police, and call for their services when required: would have nothing to do, however, with the interior economy of the Force; that would be regulated by the Commissioner of Police under the orders of Government. The Honorable W. Elliott, a Member of the Madras Council, also recorded his views to like effect; so also Mr. Morehead. In May 1858 Mr. Robinson, a Madras Civilian, of high standing, was appointed Chief



Commissioner, and directed to submit a scheme for the re-organization of the Madras Police on the general principles above indicated ; and in December of the same year he submitted his scheme, of which the leading features were as follow :—

*1st.*—The Police becomes a distinct Department under the direct supervision of the Government ; its members of all grades being divested of judicial functions, and being under the exclusive control and management of its own officers.”

*2nd.*—The administrative and judicial functions of the Magistracy remain as at present throughout all grades from the village Munsiff up to the Magistrate, each so far as his legal power and jurisdiction extend. The Magistrate of the District will be kept fully and intimately acquainted with the distribution and administration of the Police. He will make requisition for their services if the arrangements, which he may think, are required for the preservation of the peace and prevention of crime have not been anticipated by his own officers ; the Police will execute all his lawful commands. But he will not interfere with the internal economy and arrangements of the District Corps, for which its own officers will be individually responsible.”

To this scheme the Madras Government accorded general approval, and Mr. Robinson was directed to proceed to Calcutta with a Draft Bill, Act 24 of 1859, which was submitted to the Legislative Council, and passed into law in September 1859.

Meanwhile a fierce battle was raging in Bengal upon the question of Police reform between the advocates of what may be called the purely Oriental System on the one side, and the supporters of the Western System on the other hand. The Orientalists, headed by Sir F. Halliday, held that all functions should be centred in one individual officer at the head of the District, who should exercise, in his own person, all the powers of Government. The Western party, headed by Sir J. P. Grant, held that there should be complete separation of functions and division of labour. Sir J. P. Grant was strongly supported by Sir Barnes Peacock and Mr. Ricketts.

Sir J. P. Grant recorded, “There is no longer any question as to the necessity of separating the functions of Revenue and those of Police and Criminal justice so far as native functionaries are concerned. This one decisive effect, the Torture Report,\* has had upon the European mind universally. . . . I do not know if the full extent of the decision that the united functions cannot be entrusted to native hands has been seen ; not only must revenue and police powers be disjoined in the case of the peons and the tchsildars : the principle of the

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\* Report of the Police Commission of 1858.

reform applies as strongly to the Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates, who are mostly natives. Yet the functions of these last-named classes are in quality the same as those of Collector and Magistrate. A Deputy Magistrate of experience has always the full powers of a Magistrate. However this difficulty may be treated, I see not how incongruity of system and invidious and offensive class distinctions are avoidable if the union in European hands is insisted on. . . . Every officer of Indian experience will understand why the fact of the two classes of native officers being under two European heads causes in the one class a wholesome fear of the other. A European officer is always the last person to hear of the malpractices of his own native subordinates. The people will complain to any one else, but it is hard to induce them to complain to a Chief of the conduct of those under that Chief's orders. A European will hear plenty of evil of the conduct of native officers over whom he has no control, but he will hear little against those who serve him, or serve under him. and what little he does hear will probably be in the shape of charges, which, in the manner and form alleged, are false. . . . The system whereby various functions, each of which is separate in other well-administered countries, are sometimes united in India, is represented in its most amiable view when it is called Patriarchal. It is suitable and convenient, as a temporary expedient, in a new acquisition, and it is a necessary expedient in a poor and ill-peopled province of great geographical extent. It is a very silent system, and goes on with very little trouble to rulers so long as the remembrance of the ancient misrule lasts, and so long as few Europeans or others, who have been accustomed to a regular Government, fall under its operation. But it has its long undiscovered abuses, its sudden explosions ; witness the Madras Torture Commission, Without, however, questioning the system where it is appropriate, I ask if such a country, as I have described Bengal to be, is a fit country for a Patriarchal experiment? For this system, two parties are required, the sage and paternal ruler of a district, and the dutiful family of subjects ; not to speak of the first requisite, I may safely deny that Bengal affords the last."

We have not space to quote further from these Minutes by the able men whom we have mentioned. Suffice to say that in 1860 a Police Commission was appointed by the Government of India, which was directed to make a comprehensive enquiry into the existing constitution of Police establishments throughout India, with the view of ascertaining in what way they might be most effectually improved. The Commission was composed of the following members :—Mr. Court,

for the North-Western Provinces, Colonel Phayre, for Pegu, Mr. Wauchope for Bengal, Mr. Robinson, for Madras, Mr. Temple, (Sir Richard) for the Punjab, and Colonel Bruce for Oudh :—and in September 1860, they submitted their report, together with a Draft Act, embodying the following propositions, *viz.* :—

1st.—That a Civil Protective Force can be constituted in any part of India, starting from a Civil basis, after the model of the British and Irish Constabulary Forces, and under the control of carefully selected European officers, which may be adapted by special attention to its departmental constitution, and physical composition, to the performance of every duty which can be required of such a body. In regard to the prevention of crime, the suppression of local outrage, the maintenance of order, and prevention of aggression on frontiers, where armed invasion is not to be anticipated : for the guarding and watching of jails, treasuries and stores, and performing any escort duties connected with them and public property of every description."

2nd.—That the Executive Government should at once constitute a Civil Force of such organization as shall make it thoroughly useful for every Civil Police purpose. The Force should be so trained and constituted that it may be thoroughly relied upon for the performance of all duties of a preventive and Detective Police, and for the protection of property, and maintenance of local peace and order, with reference to the locality in which it is to be employed. That the formation of such a force is the key to economy and *military efficiency*."

3rd.—That the first step towards effecting this object is to combine into one body, under a responsible superintending authority, and under an uniform organization and undivided control and responsibility, all the numerous bodies now engaged, more or less independently, on various duties connected with the proper Civil Police administration of the country, and the ordinary guard and watching of property of every kind in whatever Department. For the proper performance of all the important duties of a Police Force, there must be unity of action and identity of system throughout the body to which these duties are entrusted. Economy in regard to numbers, and finance can only thus be secured, while all the minor duties of guarding public property can be best and most economically performed by watchmen deputed from an organised and disciplined force. That, therefore, notwithstanding any difficulties which may arise in changing existing usages, and simplifying complicated systems, and arranging intricate details in the transfer of patronage and power from many Departments to one, yet the paramount object of instituting one efficient system of police should be *persistently* carried out.

4th.—That under the above view all separate establishments maintained for the watch and ward of Jails (exclusive of the establishment of warders) of general and tehsel treasuries and escorts ; and all river and road police of whatever denomination, now in the pay of Government, should be gradually relieved and absorbed in the constabulary as the organization proceeds.

5th.— . . . (village watch to be placed under the District Superintendent.)

6th.—That the Police thus constituted should form a separate Department in each local Government or local administration, and under the immediate authority and control of its Chief. And having an independent Departmental organization and subordination of its own, be made an efficient instrument at the disposal of the District Officer."

The Act then goes on to constitute an Inspector-General of Police, who, in direct communication with the Government, should be responsible for the efficiency of the Force and its general management *through its own officers*. That the executive functions of Commissioners of Divisions should cease ; that the District Superintendent should be departmentally subordinate to the Inspector-General, but bound to obey the orders of the District Officer in regard to executive police duties, and responsible to him as to the efficiency of the force, but in regard to the interior economy and all Departmental matters, he should be subordinate to the head of his own Department, and not in any way to the District Magistrate, and that there should be a complete severance of judicial and police functions ; but that a special exception be made in favor of the District Officer, who should be the principal controller of the Police administration of his district, but without any control over Departmental matters.

These propositions became law in the form of Act V, 1861, (Police Act), and by 1862 had been introduced throughout all the Provinces of India.

In Madras, Sir William Robinson, Inspector-General of Police in those days, did all he could to preserve the military element in the Police. In fact, there the Police was regarded as a *corps d'élite*, and picked officers were appointed to the force ; and when, owing to the few officers available (for the officers of the army of that Presidency did not suffer from extensive reductions of Regiments as did the Bengal Army in 1861) the supply began to fail, he had several interviews with the War Office authorities in the hope of arranging for a regular supply ; but this could not be managed, owing to some hitch with the Government of India, it is believed.

As to the other Presidencies, it is well-known that this Police system was extremely distasteful to the great majority of

Civilians, who naturally disliked to have in their District a Police organization over which they had nothing more than a somewhat vague kind of general control. Hence, before many years had passed, the North-Western Provinces lost 4 out of 6 of its Deputy Inspectors-General; and when the finances of the country demanded large retrenchments, the Bengal Police was made to suffer to such an extent as to materially impair its efficiency, and among other reductions 4 out of 6 Deputy Inspectors-General were abolished; and this may be said to have been the commencement of the downfall of the independence of the Police, for the Deputy Inspectors-General were undoubtedly the backbone of the whole system, and, on their removal from the charge of separate Police circles, the independence of the Department began to wane, till finally, when Sir George Campbell came into office as Lieutenant-Governor, he drove a coach and four through the whole Police Act, and by way of practically illustrating that Police officers were no longer to be considered to be a "separate caste and service," he promptly pitch forked two Bengal Civilians into high positions over the heads of a long list of Police officers; while in the North-Western Provinces, about the same time, Mr. Hobart, a member of the Civil Service, and only of 12 years' standing, was appointed a Deputy-Inspector-General over the heads of senior Military officers who had done all the hard work in the Mutiny days with the Military Police, and later on, had organized the Police Force in its amended form. A little later on, Mr. Latouche, a young civilian of 8 years' service, was brought into the Department as a 1st grade District Superintendent, in supersession of officers who had served the Government continuously for eighteen years. In 1877 the Government, North-Western Provinces, made no secret of its wish to get rid of Military officers from the Police, stating that—"The fact is that men on high pay like the memorialists are no longer required in the Police. If they could be provided for elsewhere, their places could be filled, and efficiently filled, by men who would be glad to take less than half the salary, which, on an average, is drawn by the memorialists." It had the justice, however, to recommend "that the memorialists, many of whom have already done good service in the field, and originally entered the Police when it was to all intents and purposes a Military body," should be allowed to return to their original profession of arms. The Military Department however, refused to re-employ them.

All independence in the Department thus ceased. District Superintendents were told that they were merely "*Assistants*" to the Magistrate in the Police Department, and were prohibited from corresponding direct with their own officers, while appointments, fines, promotions and rewards were all practically taken out of their hands.

And yet, as shown above, when Military Officers of the Department wished to leave a service which they had joined under quite different conditions, and which had no longer any attractions for them, they were told that they must remain on as their services were not needed in the Military Department. This was in 1868, when the new Police system was not more than 7 years old, and yet young S. C. officers of the present day are allowed to be absent in civil employ for 10 years before their names are struck off the strength of their regiments.

The public will thus be able to judge whether these old officers have received proper consideration. In fact, the Secretary of State, as well as the Indian Government, has officially admitted that they had not, when granting to them a personal allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem as some compensation for loss of promotion, while the Secretary of State in 1883 requested the Government of India to see that these officers were not allowed to suffer from having to serve in the Police. We see that the Government of the North-Western Provinces has carried out the letter of this order by appointing Colonel Stanley Clarke as Inspector General of Prisons, but we are not cognizant of any other administrations or Governments having similarly complied with the Secretary of State's desire.

We also know that the Secretary of State, in communication with the Government of India, has laid down 10 per cent. as the proportion of Military men to Civilians for the Police Force in Bengal. There are in the North-Western Provinces at the present moment only 7 Military men; in the Punjab, with its immense frontier, only 5, and in Lower Bengal the same number (out of a total of 105 officers above the rank of Inspector.) Where then is the supply to be had for bringing the number up to its full proportion?

Seeing the position relatively with the Civil Service, as already shewn, that Military Officers now in the Police occupy, and the small pay they draw compared with officers in Military employ whose duties are also much pleasanter in every way, as well as the wretched prospects generally of the department, is it likely that any young officer would accept of an appointment in the Indian Constabulary?

The position of the officers, who have taken service in the Burmah Military Police, is at present quite different; but in the ordinary course of things, these officers also will have one day to decide whether they will continue on, in the future Burmah Police Force in its amended form, or return to Military duty; and then we shall see whether the supply will be equal to the demand:—unless, indeed, some radical change has meanwhile been insisted on by the Home authorities with a

view to improving the pay and position generally of those officers who have so long and arduously plodded on under the most trying circumstances and conditions.

We now proceed to make quotations from various papers, on various dates.

The *Delhi Gazette* of the 26th April 1876, after some prefatory remarks on the callousness of the State when their own British officers appealed to it for redress against glaring injustice, goes on to say—"To edge our remarks by a case in point, we may instance the new and unexpected turn of affairs in the Police Department of these Provinces. When in 1858 the Military Police Force was first raised, Government was glad to engage the services of British officers and other gentlemen as Adjutants, and Commandants of the new Battalions. These gentlemen well, and even brilliantly, filled their new posts, were engaged under a variety of circumstances with the rebels, and repeatedly received the thanks of Government when such service, as they so heartily rendered, was valuable in that time of need. Are such men supposed, then, to have deteriorated systematically during the course of eighteen, twenty, twenty-six years' service; that the rules under which they serve have been continually undergoing radical changes, affecting their ultimate future in the most serious manner, at a time of life too when good service ought to be giving near prospect of reward? An Englishman will endure much hardness before a complaint is wrung from him; and a body of men, joining common cause in the same profession, will bear the uniform burthen long, before putting on paper an unmistakable and serious protest, a direct statement of their grievance."

"When the Military was changed to a Civil Police Force in 1861, the feeling of satisfaction on the part of Government had not as yet worn threadbare. Rewards worth looking forward to were before the officers, and as many as four Deputy Inspector Generalships were among the prizes. No hard working and experienced officer, who had seen the Mutiny troubles, and had his share of work and danger, was as yet made to feel that his experience was rated with that of young men of from 8 to 10 years' service, or with that of the youngest Magistrate or Civilian."

Much more could be quoted from the same Article, but space will not admit of it here.

The *Pioneer* of 8th August 1877, also took up the case, thus:—"Towards the end of last year, the Military officers serving in the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh sent up memorials to the Viceroy, submitting the case for the consideration of the Government of India. They complained that, owing to a change of policy as regards Police administration, and to

other causes, the higher appointments in the Police have of late been either abolished, or bestowed on members of the Civil Service, by which arrangement they have been deprived of promotion, and placed in a position much worse than that of their brother officers who have remained in the army. The memorialists, on a former occasion, laid their grievances before the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, but without success. The memorials to the Viceroy were therefore in the nature of an appeal from the decision of the Local Government.

So far back as the year 1858 a force was raised in those Provinces in connection with the final suppression of the Mutiny, and was described as a Military Police. It was this force which the memorialists, in the first instance, joined. But about the beginning of 1861, the Mutiny having been suppressed, the Military Police was disbanded, and under the provisions of Act V. of 1861, a Civil Constabulary was organised. To this newly-created branch of the service, officers of the Military Police were transferred. . . . The memorialists prayed that they might be put on a footing, as regards emoluments, with officers of their rank holding appointments in the army, and that supersessions, such as those of 1873 and 1875, might not occur again.

In forwarding the case of the memorialists to the Government of India, Sir George Couper, though not agreeing with their prayer, recorded as follows, *viz.* :—

“I strongly recommend their case for the favourable consideration of the Viceroy.” “His Honour is compelled to admit,”—wrote the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, “that the position of these gentlemen is one of considerable hardship. When they took service in the Police, the prospects and chances of promotion in the department were very different from what they now are. The higher and better paid posts to which they looked forward have been abolished, and while some of them at least are drawing less pay in hard-worked offices than they would, for doing comparatively nothing in the Military Department, they can expect no compensation in the shape of future promotion. If the conditions of the department had remained unchanged, any complaint of slowness of promotion might have been disregarded; but when they have been entirely altered by subsequent circumstances, it appears to His Honour that the memorialists and their brother officers, who may feel themselves aggrieved by the circumstances in which they find themselves placed, have a claim to some consideration at the hands of Government.” The Government of India, however, disagreed with the recommendation of the Local Government,



holding that "the question was fully discussed in 1868," and declined to open it again. It seems to us that the case of the Military officers, who are bound to serve in the Police, is very hard. There are only two District Superintendentships of the first grade, with a salary of Rs. 1,000 per mensem, beyond which none of them can aspire. They are debarred by Lord Lawrence's Resolution of 1868 from re-entering Military employ, and the Government, as we have seen, declines either to grant them pecuniary compensation, or to permit them to return to a profession to which they still belong. Many Captains are Wing Officers and seconds in command in Native Regiments, who, on attaining majorities, will draw nearly Rs. 1,000 a month, and when Lieutenant-Colonels, close on Rs. 1,200. In the Police, owing to the abolition of many of the higher appointments, there are Majors drawing only Rs. 600 or Rs. 700 a month; there are Lieutenant-Colonels on no more than Rs. 800 or Rs. 1,000, whilst Lieutenant-Colonels, commanding Native Infantry Regiments, draw salaries of Rs. 1,400 a month. Sir George Couper, in recommending the case of the memorialists, pointed out that many of them had "done good service in the field," but the mere fact of their having joined the Police at a time, when the work of the department claimed special activity and energy on their part, is allowed by the Government to operate as a fatal bar to their future prospects. We need not repeat here what we have urged many times before in reference to service grievances, that the Government is taking a false view of its duty to the people of India in making that the excuse for a policy of meanness and faithlessness towards its European servants. If service grievances weary the public ear, the fault of this rests with the Government, which leaves scarcely a branch of its service without a grievance. But in the present case, while the wrong done to the officers concerned is as plain to every reasonable comprehension as the financial pressure put forward in its excuse, the remedy is really simple, and—as a great Government may fairly look at such matters—inexpensive. There are only twelve officers in the North-Western Provinces Police affected by the hardships we have described, and their number would gradually diminish by retirement. Pecuniary compensation, therefore, in the shape of graduated allowances, would not be an appreciable charge on the budget, whilst it would remove a feeling of discontent, the too reasonable grounds "for which are simply beyond dispute.

The following also appeared in the *Statesman* in reference to the unjustifiable supersession of old and deserving Military officers in the Police by Civilians: "Is it just, does it not in fact amount to a gross breach of faith, to invite officers of standing into the Police, under certain stipulated rules and

regulations which hold out to them a prospect of advancement superior to that which they might have looked for in the army? Is it not, I say, a gross act of injustice to those officers, after their prospects in the Military career have been utterly ruined, to deprive them of the higher appointments in the Police—appointments they had a right to succeed to as a reward for good service in the department. Would not a little more generosity and consideration be more becoming towards officers who are serving in the department on compulsion? Many of them, both in Bengal and the North-West, are officers who have been highly praised by all their official superiors, and yet they are actually drawing less pay than the unemployed pay of their Military rank, and considerably less than their employed brother officers in the army, who, for ever let them bless their stars, were not seduced by false representations to accept Civil employ.” We must content ourselves with extracting this much, finishing with the following words—“They ask nothing better than that as a reward for their services in the department, they may be allowed to quit it, and return to Military employ.”

A letter by *Suum Cuique* also appeared, and likewise another article in the *Pioneer* of the 21st June 1878, on the memorials to Parliament by Military Members of the North-Western Provinces Police, on commenting on which the editor ended thus—“Appeals from India to Parliament are often ill-advised; Parliament is already too prone to interfere with Indian affairs, but in this case, the fault lies entirely with the Government of India.”

The *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 28th December 1880, in noticing the case of Military Officers in the Police, remarked strongly on the hardship of it. We merely make a few brief extracts therefrom:—“As early as 1858, a force was raised in the North-Western Provinces in connexion with the suppression of the Mutiny, and it was described as the “Military Police.” The officers of the force were selected by Government from among the gentlemen serving with the Native army. During nearly three years of the most trying time that India has ever witnessed, these gentlemen worked honestly and well in the Military Police force. At the end of this period, quiet having been restored to the land, a Military Police was declared to be no longer necessary, and in its place was established a Civil Constabulary, to which the officers of the Military Police were transferred. In 1861 this new branch of the service included the Inspector-General, six Deputy Inspectors-General, and the command of the Mairwarrah Battalion. With the promise of these appointments before them, the Military officers in the Police had no cause of complaint, especially as up to the year 1868 they were not debarred the privilege of returning to Military duty. Moreover, they understood that the constitution of the force was definitely

fixed, and secured to them the following privilege, *i. e.*, that the Police should *be a separate department*, promotion being given in the ranks only.

The first breach of faith with the officers of this Police Force, was the issue of a resolution (by the Government of India under Lord Lawrence) in the year 1858, depriving these officers of the option of returning to Military duty ; and from that time forward we have to record a series of broken promises and unjust enactments. \* \* \* \* Such flagrant acts of injustice speak for themselves, and the position of the officers of the North-Western Provinces Police is indeed to be deplored. Retained against their will in a service where advancement is hopeless, they see Captains serving with Native Regiments, holding the appointments of "Second in Command," or Wing Officer, who, on attaining their majorities, will draw close on Rs. 1,000 a month, or when they become Lieutenant-Colonels, almost Rs. 1,200, while they themselves (Field Officers of from 20 to 30 years' standing) are obliged to be content with Rs. 700 to Rs. 800, &c."

The *Pioneer* of the 6th August 1881 and 13th September 1881 again held forth on the same complaint.

The *Englishman* of the 11th November 1881 also had an article on the same subject, as also, again, the *Pioneer* of the 15th February 1882 and 13th May 1882. From the latter the following words are extracted :—"There are some Police Officers in the North-West who have been cheated by Government in the way described, and the facts are notorious in the Province. We find there are many more in Bengal ; and one of these, whose case is the worst, has sent up a petition to the Viceroy, which ought to be in one of His Excellency's boxes at this moment. The amount up to date, of which this particular officer has been defrauded, comparing the amount of pay he has drawn in the Police with that he would have had in the army had he never put trust in the promises of the Bengal Government, is 40,000 ; for he is a senior man now, and his wrongs have been accumulating for many years, during which time he has been longing to go back to his proper service, but has not been allowed. The Government could not spare his services as a Police Officer, but found it inconvenient to give him the reward it had promised him ;"—and so on.

These extracts will suffice to shew what *public opinion* thinks of the case of these officers. Numerous other articles of more recent date might be quoted ; and we can but hope that those officers who have hitherto held an erroneous opinion as to the circumstances of their case, will now admit that theirs is indeed a

. ART. VI.—SOME OLD-WORLD EASTERN  
CONQUERORS.

THE earliest Asiatic conqueror of whom anything certain is known—and that is very little—was Nimrod, the son of Cush, begotten by Ham. In all probability the Cushites were settled on the Arabian coast, until the population increased in excess of the very limited territory at their disposal. They accordingly broke up into two migratory expeditions—the one proceeding towards the west, and occupying Abyssinia, while the second steered in an easterly direction, and finally ascending the Persian Gulf, took to the land near the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, which may at that time have flowed in separate channels,—there being good reason to believe that, at the date of the foundation of the Chaldean monarchy, the Persian Gulf ran 120 miles further inland than at the present day. The leader of these wanderers was, in all likelihood, the personage known to Bible readers as Nimrod, who “began to be a mighty one in the earth,” and was described as “a mighty hunter before the Lord.” He was clearly the original Belus or Baal, and is supposed to have been identical with Orion, called by the Arabs, El Jabhan, or the Giant. Of his warlike achievements, very little has been authentically recorded. He appears to have reduced the low country at the head of the Persian Gulf, and to have extended his power as far north as the city of Babylon, which was founded by him. The chief towns within his dominions, most, if not all of which owed to him their origin, were Nineveh, Resen, Calah, Asshur, or Ellasar and Singar, situated to the east of the Tigris. Nimrod was also a great architect, though little remains to attest the magnificence of his designs. His kingdom was of brief duration. He may have landed about 2,300 years before the Christian era, and his dynasty ceased to reign in rather less than two and a half centuries. There are usually assigned eleven kings to the early Chaldean State, of whom only three were worthy of note, namely, Nimrod, Urukh or Erech—the Orchanus of Ovid—a great builder, and Kudur-Lagamer, the Elamite, who mostly resided at Ur, the modern Magheir. This monarch, the Chedor-Laomer of the Book of Geneses, widened his borders very largely, and built up an empire that stretched for 1,200 miles from the Persian Gulf to the Dead-Sea, and 500 miles from north to south. Over these considerable dominions, he reigned unmolested for twelve years, when fortune turned against him. He had, indeed, been so far successful that he had crushed a formidable rebellion, and was

returning home victorious, burdened with spoils. Unfortunately among his prisoners was Lot, the nephew of Abraham, who straightway collected a small force, and fell by night upon the careless host, "and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus." It is plain, however, that Kudur-Lagamer did not rule over a consolidated empire. His territories were broken up into vassal States, whose rulers sent to their suzerain an annual stipulated supply of valuable presents, and undertook to act as his auxiliaries in any wars he might wage in their direction. The five kings who were defeated by four, were rebels who had failed to despatch their annual tribute, and were rudely punished for their contumacy. A similar condition of things will be found to characterise every one of the early eastern monarchies. The inscriptions already deciphered abundantly show that no great kingdom could be described as "one and indivisible." It was simply a federation of minor States paying, or withholding allegiance to the Paramount Power as circumstances varied. The reigns of the most illustrious sovereigns were passed in crushing revolts with terrible severity, rather than in adding kingdom to kingdom, and subduing nations until then independent. These remarks will be more fully illustrated, as the histories of the great Eastern monarchies are unrolled, and the "steles" of mighty men of valour are made to tell the horrid tale of slaughter and devastation, only partially redeemed by the wondrous works, still glorious and awe-inspiring even in their ruins.

The achievements of the Egyptian conquerors do not, strictly speaking, come within the scope of this essay. One of the most fabled kings was Sesostris, or Sesortasen, the founder of the twelfth dynasty, who flourished about 2,000 years B. C., but Herodotus contrived to mix up his exploits with those of Oseiris or Sethos, and his greater son Remeses II. Syria was conquered by Thothmes I., who crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish, and overran Mesopotamia. At a later period Thothmes III. subjected the country between the two rivers, and probably captured both Nineveh and Babylon, but no permanent conquests were made. The defeated princes were left in possession of their respective dominions on almost nominal conditions, while the victors returned home enriched with spoils, and not unfrequently attended with a long train of captives, afterwards utilized as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and especially in burning and laying bricks.

In the beginning of the twelfth century B. C., we find Tiglath-Pileser I. seated on the Assyrian throne, without the slightest fear of blood-guiltiness before his eyes. His career of victory is inscribed on two duplicate cylinders, which record, in general

terms, a long series of ruthless barbarities extended over the space of five years. His successes over the Muskar, or Maschians, are thus described by Canon Rawlinson: "He burnt the cities, plundered the temples, ravaged the open country, and carried off either in the shape of plunder or of tribute, vast quantities of cattle and treasure." The cylinders are more graphic in delineating what befell the five kings of Kasiyaria: "The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of the battlements of their cities, I made heaps like mounds of earth. Their movables, their wealth, and their valuables, I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants, and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my territory as slaves." Successful wars, in those days, were good speculations. They not only supported themselves, but increased the population and resources of the victors. Strife was incessant, "never ending, still beginning, fighting still, and still destroying." Tiglath-Pileser, for instance, next turned his arms against the Khatti (Hittites), and many other tribes, sparing the lives of their "kings," but appropriating their horses and cattle. He crossed the Euphrates in boats, covered with the skins of animals, reduced the Aramœans or Syrians, overran the mountainous country of Upper Kurdistan, and captured and burnt the strongholds of the Comani. It is thus the vain-glorious monarch summarises the fruits of his various expeditions: "There fell into my hands altogether, between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty two countries with their kings, from the banks of the river Yab, to the banks of the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatti and the Upper ocean of the setting sun (the Mediterranean). I brought them under one government. I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings." He was likewise a mighty hunter, and with his unerring arrows, killed lions and wild bulls and huge buffaloes. He was, moreover, a great builder, and erected stately temples, palaces, and castles, constructed works of irrigation, introduced domestic animals and useful vegetables from other lands, and largely increased the extent and population of his original territories. According to Canon Rawlinson, Asshur was still the capital of Assyria, the towns of Nineveh, Nimrod, and Calah still awaiting to be founded, though commonly supposed to have been built by Nimrod. Tiglath-Pileser and his immediate successors appear to have been intensely pious, somewhat after the Mussulman fashion. Their wars were so far, religious, that they were waged primarily for the glorification of the gods. The Assyrian

monarchy was at first a solid compact little State, with an area about equal to that of England ; while Babylonia, though more thickly peopled, may be compared to Scotland. It was in the latter part of his reign that Teglath-Pileser captured Babylon, but in the end he sustained same signal reverses, for the Babylonians carried off and retained, for four centuries, certain sacred images which were held in high reverence by both peoples.

The death of Tiglath-Pileser was followed by a long period of obscurity, perhaps, of inactivity ; but in the year 1884 B.C. or thereabouts, a mighty warrior ascended the Assyrian throne. Asshur-idanni-pal, or Sardanapalus, conducted at least ten victorious campaigns in the brief space of six years. His expeditions extended over an immense tract of territory, but it does not appear that his conquests were stable or permanent. His reign was marked by a continuous series of rebellions, crushed with tremendous severity, but only to be renewed after a short breathing time. His first campaign was directed against North-Western Kurdistan and the adjacent parts of Armenia, when several fortified towns were taken, and a particularly troublesome Chief was carried off to Arbela, where he was flayed alive, and his body suspended from the town-wall. The citizens of Assura in Central Mesopotamia, having murdered their Governor and appointed a foreigner in his place, were punished by being deported to Nineveh, with the exception of those who were crucified, or burnt, or deprived of their ears and noses. The Monarch himself thus relates how he treated the inhabitants of the revolted city of Tela :—  
 “ Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands ; of others, I cut off the noses, ears, and lips ; of the young men’s ears, I made a heap ; of the old men’s heads, I built a minaret. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burnt in the flames. The city I destroyed and consumed, and burnt with fire.” In the course of his campaign against the Nairi, he boasts of having ruined 250 strongly fortified towns, and of having slain many Princes. The Shuhites and the Laki having not only renounced their allegiance, but even presumed to invade Assyria, Asshur-idanni-pal straightway crossed the Euphrates on rafts, defeated the allies, and impaled thirty of their chief men and leaders. According to his own account, he devastated the banks of the Khabour, slew 6,500 warriors in battle or flight, burnt many cities and castles, put the male inhabitants to the sword, and carried into captivity their women and children, and herds of cattle. In his next campaign, he captured the town of Beth Adina, and removed 2,500 of its inhabitants to

Calah. His ninth campaign was on a larger scale, for he crossed the Euphrates on rafts, marched through Carchemish without opposition, received the submission of the Hittites and other peoples, passed his army across the Orontes, and skirting Lebanon, reached the Mediterranean, upon which the cities of Tyre and Sidon, Byblus and Aradus, humbled themselves before him. It is worthy of note that he carried back with him to Nineveh a great quantity of beams and planks, evidently of cedar wood. Asshur-idanni-Pal was not only a great warrior, but also a keen sportsman. He made a large park for wild beasts near Nineveh, into which he turned 50 young, and 15 full grown lions, besides leopards, bulls, and buffaloes. There fell to his bow and arrows, or to his spear, in Mesopotamia alone, 360 huge lions, 257 wild cattle, and 30 buffaloes; while in Syria he slew or captured numbers of lions, wild sheep, red and fallow deer, wild goats, or ibexes, leopards, bears, wolves, jackals, wild boars, ostriches, foxes, hyænas, and wild asses. He likewise excelled as a builder, and made Calah worthy to be the capital of his extensive dominions. He speaks of himself as "the conqueror from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon and the Great Sea, who has reduced under his authority all countries from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same." At the sources of the Tigris, or Eastern Tigris, he had set up his memorial, or stele beside those of Tiglath-Pileser, and his own father Tiglath-Nin II. He was represented in his royal and priestly robes with his right arm outstretched, the thumb and forefinger closely pressed together. Greek invention stepped in with the usual audacity of ignorance, and discovered in this serious historic movement the statue of a *blase* cynic, contemptuously snapping his fingers to give point to the supposed inscription,—“Eat, drink, and be merry, for all other human enjoyments are not worth this.” He seems to have died in peace about 859 B. C., and to have been succeeded by his son, Shalmaneser II, who reigned 35 years, in the course of which he personally held the command in 23 expeditions, besides those he entrusted to the conduct of a faithful and favourite General. It is however, a monotonous narrative of bloodshed, devastation, and wanton cruelty, recorded on an obelisk of black marble, found prostrate amid the ruins of his palace. Though always successful for the moment, he made no permanent impression upon the conquered peoples. No sooner had the terror inspired by his frightful barbarities grown somewhat weakened, then a fresh revolt broke out, and the work had all to be done over again. Shalmaneser's most inveterate enemy was Benhidri, or Benhadad of Damascus, subsequently slain by Hazael. His latter years were embittered by the rebellion of his eldest son Asshur-danni-pal,



who was, however, defeated and put to death by his younger brother, Shamás Iva. In the reign of Shalmaneser II, the Assyrian Empire reached as far north as the mountain chain of Niphates, while in a westerly direction it embraced Upper Syria, Phœnicia, Harnath, and Samaria, all of which countries paid tribute with varying regularity.

The time has long since gone by when Sammuramit, or Semiramis would have been included among the great eastern conquerors of the old world. Canon Rawlinson is probably justified in supposing that this famous personage was the Queen of Iva-Lush IV—the Bealikhish of M. Lenarmant,—to whom she brought the city and district of Babylon as her dower. That is really all that is positively known about this mythical heroine. Iva-Lush himself seems to have died about 781 B.C. After an interval of obscurity, we come upon Shalmaneser IV, compelling Hoshea, the son of Elah, to become his servant, and give him presents, and on his intriguing with So, King of Egypt, binding him and throwing him into prison. For three years Shalmaneser was engaged in beseiging Tyre and Samaria; the latter falling into his hands about 721 B. C. During his absence the people of Nineveh revolted, under a leader, whose name appears to have been lost in that of his designation as Sargon, or Sarkin, signifying a king *de facto*, but not an hereditary Prince. Shalmaneser's death in Syria made a vacancy, which was filled by this usurper, who proved a valiant and successful warrior. For fifteen years he enjoyed no respite. He reduced all Syria from the borders of Egypt, defeated the united armies of the Philistines and the Egyptians, and severely punished the Arabians for presuming to invade his province of Samaria. Babylon submitted on the capture of Merodach-Baladan, and together with Chaldæa, continued subject to Assyrian rule until the fall of that Empire. In the Khorsabad inscriptions, Sargon is made to say,—“Merodach-Baladon abandoned in his camp his royal insignia, his golden tiara, his golden throne, his golden parasol, his golden sceptre, his silver chair. He escaped in disguise. I besieged and took his city of Dur-Yakin. I took as prisoners himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters. I took gold, silver, all his possessions. I punished for their faults all the families and all the men who had revolted from my government. I reduced the cities to ashes. I undermined and destroyed the walls.” He made a wilderness and called it a conquest. The terror of his arms spread far and wide. Even the Cypriots, no longer relying on their insular position, sent him tribute, and set up in their island a statue of the Great King, which may now be seen in the Berlin Museum. Sargon had more trouble with his northern neighbours, but in the end, triumphed over them likewise. It was his custom

to deport the vanquished to other countries, or, in the euphemistic language of the inscriptions, he "changed the abodes of his subjects." Among his peaceful memorials may be mentioned the magnificent palace he built at Kharsabad, not far from which he founded the city of Sargon, or Sarghum. His reign began B. C. 721, and ended B. C. 704.

His son Sennacherib was doomed to get more incessant strife. Very shortly after his accession to the throne, the Babylonians, under Merodach-Baladon were again in arms, though only to be again defeated. In suppressing this revolt Sennacherib committed to the flames 76 towns and 420 villages. Thence he hastened to put down the Aramœans, of whom he carried off 200,000 into captivity, besides an immense spoil in horses, camels, sheep, cattle, and all manner of movable chattels. The combined forces of the Egyptians and Æthiopians were forced to acknowledge his superior military prowess at Altakin, near Ekron, round the walls of which town many princes and chiefs were impaled, while men of inferior mark were sold as slaves. Hezekiah, King of Judah, was also for a time in serious danger, but succeeded in turning aside the punishment due to his disloyalty by paying a heavy fine. According to his cylinder in this campaign Sennacherib took 46 fenced cities, and more unfortified towns than could be counted. His captives numbered 200,150 persons, old and young, besides a multitude of horses, mares, sheep, oxen, and camels. Hezekiah was shut up in Jerusalem like "a bird in a cage," and was forced to pay 30 talents of gold and 800 of silver. Two years later, or B. C. 698, the Assyrian monarch again marched against Hezekiah, but in the first instance proceeded to Lachish and Lebuah to chastise the Egyptians, contenting himself with sending three of his principal servants, his chief general, eunuch, and cup-bearer (whose official titles were mistaken by the writer of the Second Book of Kings for their personal names), and summoned the King and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to surrender at discretion. That same night, while Sennacherib was planning an attack upon the Egyptian host, a strange and terrible calamity befell his own, whether from a Simoom blast, or from a sudden outbreak of plague and pestilence; it is estimated that not fewer than 70,000 of his soldiers perished between the going down of the sun on the one day, and its rising up on the morrow. The fearful catastrophe was naturally omitted from the cylinder, which passes over this untoward campaign as though it had never occurred. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that Sennacherib's murder followed close upon the destruction of his army. As a fact, he reigned at Nineveh for seventeen years after that disaster, and waged several important wars. He even

sent for shipwrights from Tyre and Sidon, and launched a fleet on the Tigris, and, descending the river took the Susianians by surprise. Nevertheless, the Babyloneans again revolted against his suzerainty, and in conjunction with the Elamites and Armæans raised a powerful army, which was completely crushed at Khaluli, on the Lower Tigris. On the cylinder it is inscribed how Sennacherib bribed the King of Elam's chief of the staff, and through his treachery obtained an easy victory over 150,000 rebels. The inscription proceeds to narrate—"On the wet earth armour and arms taken in my attacks floated in the blood of enemies as in a river, for the war-chariots that struck down men and beasts had in their course crushed the bleeding bodies and their limbs. I piled up the corpses of these warriors like trophies, and I cut off their hands and feet. I mutilated those who were taken alive like straws, and as a punishment cut off their hands." At a later period he occupied Cilicia after defeating a body of Greek mercenaries who had crossed over from Cyprus, and he is believed to have founded Tarsus. The palace built by Sennacherib at Nineveh, and recently explored by Layard, covered eight acres of ground, and perhaps was never surpassed for grandeur and magnificence. In this reign, backgrounds were first introduced to set off the scenes and incidents pictorially described. His death was sudden and lamentable. While worshipping in the temple of his god, he was murdered by his sons' Adrammelech and Shahrezar, who also killed their brother Nergal or Nergilus, but the people chose Ezarhaddon, the dead monarch's youngest son, to reign over them, whereupon the parricides fled into Armenia and received grants of land from the king.

It would have been well for Adrammelech had he been contented with the lot of a landed proprietor. He was tormented, however, with an unscrupulous ambition, and was thus driven to assert his pretensions to the throne of Assyria. The result was that he was defeated, made prisoner, and put to death by his half-brother, Ezarhaddon, who reigned from B. C. 680 to B. C. 667, but not without being continually engaged in warfare. His first rebels were the Kings of Sidon and Libanon, who were speedily overcome; the former fleeing in vain for safety to an island, presumably Cyprus. A baked cylinder, now in the British Museum, thus tells the tale of this brief campaign:—"I attacked the city of Sidon standing in the midst of the sea. I put to death all its great men. I destroyed its walls and houses. I cast them into the sea. I destroyed the places of its altars. Abdimilkut, King of the city, had fled from my power even into the midst of the sea. Like a fish, I traversed the waves, and humbled his pride. I

carried away all that I could of his treasures: gold, silver, precious stones, amber, seal skins, sandal wood, and ebony, stuffs dyed purple and blue, all that his house contained. I transported into Assyria an immense number of men and women, oxen, sheep, and beasts of burden. I settled the inhabitants of Syria and of the seashore in strange lands." Among Ezar-haddon's subsequent achievements may be mentioned, the subjugation of Armenia and Cilicia. He also subdued Edam, and carried off certain images, locally venerated, which were redeemed by an engagement to make over sixty-five camels every year, whence the general poverty of the Elomites may be fairly inferred. A more critical undertaking was the invasion of the country beyond Nedjif. It is stated that this was the most distant expedition ever attempted by any of the Assyrian monarchs. The line of march lay across 470 miles of sandy desert, succeeded by 70 miles of fertile land, and finally by a stony arid region. In another direction, the Assyrian arms were directed against Bikni or Bigan, perhaps Azerbaijan, never before invaded by a force from Nineveh. Still unwearied of war's alarms, Ezar-haddon next defeated the Egyptians under Tirhakah, and ascended the Nile as high as Thebes. So complete was the subjection of Egypt, that he divided the country into twenty districts under the supreme direction of Neco, an Egyptian, whose seat of Government was placed at Memphis. Probably the chief result of this campaign was the introduction of the sphinx into the ornamentations of Assyrian palaces. The task of suppressing Manasseh's revolt was entrusted to subordinate officers, who "took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon," but after a while his kingdom was restored to him. Assyrian and other colonists were largely planted in Palestine.

In the fulness of time, Ezar-haddon was gathered to his fathers, B. C. 667, and Asshur-bani-pal, his son, reigned in his stead, and raised the Assyrian monarchy to its greatest height of prosperity and power. His first campaign was against the Egyptians, who had again broken out into rebellion. Tirhakah's troops were defeated, and the whole country re-occupied up to Thebes. Thereupon Neco joined the Ethiopians, while Tirhakah, after sustaining a fresh defeat, abdicated in favour of his stepson Urdamane, the Amen Rud of the hieroglyphics. From Egypt an immense amount of plunder was obtained, and the spirit of the Egyptians was so far broken that they do not appear to have given any further trouble in this reign. The next thing we hear of Asshur-bani-pal's movements is, that he married a daughter of the King of Cilicia, and crossing the Taurus range, received an embassy from Gyges, King of Lydia, "a country

on the sea coast; a remote place, of which the kings, his ancestors had never even heard the name." Gyges is said to have sent to Nineveh, doubtless as a curiosity, some Cimmerian chiefs, who had made an unsuccessful incursion into Lydia, soon to be followed by a more formidable eruption of Scythian hordes. After reducing the mountainous region between Lakes Van and Urumiyeh, Asshur-bani-pal next appeared in the south, and crushed with relentless severity two serious rebellions in Susiana and Babylonia. His treatment of rebels was barbarous and ruthless. Some kings and princes were beheaded, and others mutilated. Some had their tongues torn out, and at least two were flayed alive. He was likewise devoted to lion-hunting, for wild bulls had become well nigh extinct. It might almost be said that his name should be enrolled among those of royal authors, for he made a collection of clay tablets, which may now be studied in the British Museum. Canon Rawlinson was of opinion that Asshur-bani-pal, and not Asshur-idanni-pal, was the original of the Greek Sardanapalus, but it is a point not susceptible of proof, and clearly not of much importance. He was, however, the last of the long line of warrior kings. His son Asshur-emid-ilin, though not positively effeminate, was averse to warlike pursuits. His reign lasted from B. C. 647 to B. C. 625, and for the first thirteen years was seemingly uneventful. Then his troubles began. The Medes invaded the Assyrian territory, though only to be repulsed with considerable loss, but no retaliation was attempted. A more formidable invasion was that conducted by Cyaxares, B. C. 632, when the Assyrians were defeated in the open field, and their capital city invested. The final catastrophe, however, was temporarily postponed by a terrible irruption of the Scythians into Upper Media, who held on their course of desolation into Mesopotamia, whence they spread over Syria. By degrees their aggressive spirit and power declined. They were induced, by rich presents from Psammetik to leave Egypt unmolested. After a while, the inhabitants of the countries they had ravaged and laid waste, plucked up heart of grace, and fell upon their despoilers, destroying them in detail, and compelling them to seek safety in flight. The Assyrians, however, had suffered grievously at their hands, and were in no position to offer an adequate resistance to Cyaxares, when he returned B. C. 627 to complete his unfinished task. While he directed the main attack on the north, the Susianians made a useful diversion from the south. Presenting himself a bold front to the Medians, Asshur-emid-ilin despatched against Babylon his best general Nabopolassar, who proved a traitor, and listened to the artful proposition, that his son Nebuchadnessar should marry the daughter of Cyaxares.

In accordance with this arrangement, Nabopolassar made common cause with the Medes, and Asshur-emid-ilin in despair made a funeral pyre of his palace, and perished in the flames. At its best, the Assyrian monarchy, as Canon Rawlinson clearly points out, was nothing more than an agglomeration of semi-independent States, constantly in rebellion, paying tribute, or withholding it, as the circumstances of the moment dictated. The rebels were for the moment easily reduced to submission, but the Empire must have been weakened by the destruction of towns and villages, the remorseless devastation of the country, the slaughter of so many tens of thousands of fighting men, and the deportation of hundreds of thousands of artisans and agriculturists. In short, "it embodied the earliest, simplest, and most crude conception which the human mind forms of a widely extended dominion." The prosperous period of Median history was limited to the reign of Cyaxares. The kingdom had probably been consolidated by his father Phraortes, about B. C. 647. In 634, the Medes invaded Assyria through the Yagros passes, but were defeated by Asshur-emid-ilin—the Saracus of Abydanus, and Phraortes was numbered among the slain. Having reorganized his discomfited forces, Cyaxares again attacked the Assyrians, and after dispersing their army, sat down before Nineveh. His dreams of conquest were, however, for the moment dispersed by the intelligence that his own territories were overrun by the Scythians. He encountered the barbarians somewhere between Azerbaijan and Southern Ecbatana. They were in fact mounted archers, and would almost certainly have been overthrown by the better drilled and equipped Medians had there been no great disparity of numbers. The Scythians, however, were numerically superior, besides being utterly reckless of wounds or death. They proved victorious, and Cyaxares agreed to pay tribute. Fortunately, the barbarians retained their nomadic habits, and had no desire to settle down as proprietors and cultivators of the soil. They fixed themselves temporarily where fertile pastures spread out temptingly before them, but they dispersed themselves too widely, and lost cohesion and touch. Cyaxares thereupon invited their leaders to a grand banquet; and as soon as they were overpowered by drink, he slew them all, and drove their hordes out of Media. Having thus freed his own country, Cyaxares renewed his attempt to enslave his Assyrian neighbours. How he succeeded has been already told. Taking to himself Assyria Proper, and all the subject countries to the North-West, he gave over to Nabopolassar, Babylonia, Susiania, Chaldæa, and the valley of the Euphrates, and the two monarchs seem to have lived on terms of peace and amity with one another. Cyaxares, however, soon grew weary of inaction,

and subdued Armenia and Cappadocia, as a preliminary to extending his domination over the Caucasus to the shores of the Black Sea, while, in an easterly direction, he advanced his borders to the River Halys. These conquests were completed about B. C. 615, at the time when Alyattes, King of Lydia, with the assistance of his neighbours, had expelled the Cimmerians from Paphlagonia, Bethynia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Cilicia. Certain Scythians, whom Cyaxares had retained in his service as hunters, are said to have crossed the Halys, and placed themselves under the protection of Alyattes, who accordingly refused to give them up to their former master. Such proper and high-spirited conduct would probably not have been deemed sufficient cause for crossing the Halys, had it not been matter of common notoriety, that the Lydians were possessed of much gold, and were more advanced in the arts, and therefore more worthy to be plundered than any other Asiatic people. Perchance, it may not have been so well known, that they were excellent horsemen, redoubtable spearman, and fearless hunters of the wild boar. In any case Cyaxares provoked hostilities, though aware that all the adjacent minor States were in close alliance with Alyattes. Several battles were fought with great obstinacy and varying success. One great battle is reported to have taken place at night, presumably by moonlight, which would suffice for a series of personal encounters. The war had lasted six years, when a sudden eclipse overshadowed both armies in the midst of a terrible struggle, and struck terror into the hearts of the boldest. Peace was forthwith proclaimed, and friendship ensued, cemented by the betrothal of Alyattes' daughter to Astyages, the son and successor of Cyaxares. This happened about 610 B. C., and for the brief space of two years, Asia was at rest. The Median monarchy, however, was soon disturbed by Neco, son of Psammatik I, King of Egypt, who invaded Palestine, and after defeating and slaying Josiah, King of Judah, near Megiddo, pushed on to Carchemish, and became master of the Euphrates. For three years Neco held Idumea, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria, but was then overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar, who carried his victorious arms into Egypt, and despoiled the Egyptians. Cyaxares died about B. C. 593 after "reigning some 40 years. It has been written of him that he knew how to conquer, but not how to organise an empire," a remark that might be applied with nearly equal force and truthfulness to all the Eastern Monarchs, whose vicissitudes are familiar to us through the ingenious labours of Canon Rawlinson, assisted by his brother Sir Henry Rawlinson. The Median monarchy was overthrown by Cyrus, King of Persia, after it had subsisted for about 67 years, and was absorbed into the Persian Empire.

Contemporaneously with the Median monarchy, there existed the almost equally brief monarchy of Bābylon. It has already been told how Cyaxares placed Nabopolassar on the throne of Babylon, and thereby secured his friendship and co-operation to the day of his death. Nabopolassar himself, however, cannot be counted among the Early Eastern Conquerors, while the achievements of his son Nebuchadnezzar are much involved in mythical exaggerations. This monarch succeeded his father B. C. 605, and is sometimes named Nubukudurussar, though he is better known under his former appellation, and its alternative Nabuchodonosor. In the seventh year of his reign, he marched to the east to punish the revolt of Jehoiakim, King of Judah, and to bring back to their allegiance Tyre and Phœnicia. Having completed the investment of Tyre, which held out for thirteen years, Nebuchadnezzar fell back upon Jerusalem, and put Jehoiakim to death; after that Jerusalem gave no trouble for eight years, until Jehoiakim foolishly allied himself with the Egyptian Uaphries—the Apries of Herodotus—and brought down upon that city and himself grievous ruin and misery. The Egyptians were completely defeated, and driven back into their country. On the fall of Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar became sole lord of all the lands that lie between the Euphrates and the Nile, but even that goodly dominion did not satisfy Megasthenes, who carries his conquering hero across North Africa into Spain, and makes him subdue the Iberians. His conquests, whatever may have been their true scale, furnished Nebuchadnezzar with the labour required for the construction of his great works. Among these may be mentioned the stupendous walls of Babylon; the hanging gardens intended to console his Queen for the dreary exchange of the mountainous scenery of Persia, for the flat monotonous plains of Babylonia; the immense reservoir near Sippara, said to have measured 180 miles in circumference, and to have been excavated to a depth of 180 feet; the Birs-i-Nimrud, or temple of Nebo at Barsippa; besides canals, quays, breakwaters, and channels of irrigation. In the midst of all this manifestation of energy and power, Nebuchadnezzar was suddenly afflicted with lycanthropy in a terrible form. This malady, Canon Rawlinson explains, “consists in the belief that one is not a man, but a beast, in the disuse of language, the rejection of all ordinary human food, and sometimes in the loss of the erect posture, and a preference for walking on all fours. \* \* The great King became a wretched maniac. Allowed to indulge his distempered fancy, he eschewed human habitations, lived in the open air night and day, fed on herbs, disused clothing, and became covered with a rough coat of hair.” The affliction passed away as suddenly and unexpectedly as it



had alighted on the monarch. At the end of seven months, he was restored to health of body and soundness of mind, and lived for many years in the enjoyment of grandeur and magnificence. He died B. C. 561, in the 44th year of a brilliant and successful reign, darkened by one brief gloomy episode, and must have nearly, if not quite, attained the age of four score years. His madness, it is conjectured, was kept concealed from his subjects, who were taught to believe that he was suffering from a severe bodily ailment, the government being meanwhile conducted by Queen Amyitis, daughter of Cyaxares, the Mede. Niebulir and Lenormant express a singular difference of opinion as regards the fabled Nitocris; while the former identifies her with the Median princess, the latter is equally convinced that she was of Egyptian origin; her name being a corruption of Neith-aker, or Neith, the victorious. M. Lenormant further insists that she was the wife of Nabopolassar, and consequently the mother of Nebuchadnezzar. Canon Rawlinson differs from both these celebrated writers, and regards Nitocris, whose name he admits to be Egyptian—as the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and mother of Belshazzar the last prince of this short lived dynasty. The actual monarch of Babylonia at the time of its downfall was Nabonahid, or Nabonadius, who fled to Borseppa, after sustaining a severe defeat at the hands of Cyrus the Great. His son Bil-shar-azur had apparently been associated by his father in the government, and accordingly, at this critical moment, assumed the reins of power. Though young in years, he seems to have exhibited a manly resolution, which caused Cyrus almost to despair of success. The ingenuity and perseverance by means of which the Persian troops were finally introduced within the walls of the city, are too well known to be described anew in this place. Belshazzar was slain while holding a high religious festival; the palace was burnt; the town sacked by the astonished victors, and the Babylonian monarchy had completed its narrow cycle. Nabonadius himself is believed to have surrendered Barsippa without an attempt at resistance, and to have ended his days as Governor of Armenia.

Cyrus the Great was a genuine conqueror. He ascended the throne of Persia B. C. 558, and shortly afterwards became involved in hostilities with Croesus, King of Lydia, who wasted much valuable time in endeavouring to form a league with the Spartans, Babylonians, and Egyptians. Cyrus trusting to his Persians and himself, was more prompt in action, and commenced operations by marching a large army into Cappadocia by way of Erzerum. The hostile forces encountered each other at Pteria in Pontus, and a drawn battle was the result. On the morrow, both armies remained inactive, and on the following

day Cræsus fell back for re-inforcements. As Cyrus left his retreat unmolested, he rashly concluded that his enemy was disabled from assuming the offensive, and therefore dismissed his allies to their homes. Meanwhile Cyrus crossed the Halys, and made a direct point at Sardis. His advance was blocked by an army of Lydians, hastily collected by Cræsus, and for a time it seemed that the invaders were likely to be discomfited through the immense superiority of the Lydian cavalry. At the critical moment, however, Cyrus gathered together his baggage camels, and placed them in the front line. Disgusted by the scent, and terrified by the unwonted aspect of those ungainly animals, the Lydian horses broke their ranks and refused to face them. Their riders thereupon dismounted and opposed a bold front. It was all in vain. The Persians steadily pushed onwards, and without further resistance surrounded the Lydian capital. Sardis was deemed impregnable, but its apparently strongest point proved the weakest. The citadel, perched upon an almost inaccessible rock, was, as is usual in such cases, carelessly guarded. A pathway was accidentally discovered, by following which the hardy Persians gained the summit of the rock unsuspected, scaled the walls, and thence descended into the body of the place. The defeated monarch was at first harshly treated, but ultimately was received into favour, and became an honoured resident at the Persian Court. Lydia was annexed to the Persian monarchy, B. C. 554, though it shortly afterwards revolted with the aid of the Greek colonies, and was somewhat severely punished. The next successes of Cyrus were obtained over the Bactrians and the Sacæ. The former fought valiantly to maintain their independence, but in the end were reduced to submission; such also was the fate of the Sacæ, who are supposed to have inhabited the Pamir, and the country adjacent to the modern cities of Yarkand and Kashgur. They are described as brave soldiers, armed with bows and arrows, battle-axes, and daggers. They served indifferently on horseback and on foot, and were probably of Tartar, or Turanian origin. Under the leadership of their Queen, they were victorious on one occasion, and rescued their chief ruler or headman, who had been made prisoner in a previous action. Unsatiated by conquest, Cyrus next subdued in rapid succession the peoples of Hyrcania, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Aria (Hecrat), Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, and Gandaria. Traces of his presence have been found on the Helmund, in Seistan, to the north of Cabul, and even to the north of the Jaxartes, the Syrdarya of our own times. Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokand yielded to the terror of his arms, and for fourteen years Cyrus was constantly to be found at the head of his troops, rendering

himself master of the vast region that lies between the Caspian and the Indus. He must have been nigh upon three score years of age when he took in hand to add to his empire Babylonia and Susiania, Syria and Palestine, to which country he sent back the Jewish exiles and captives. Moved by some strange impulse, the Phœnicians ventured to set up the banner of rebellion, but escaped the consequences of their infatuation by the sudden emergency of a threatened irruption of the Massagetæ (Magog). Though victorious in the first action, Cyrus was, in his turn signally defeated and slain. His body was conveyed to Pasargadæ, where a somewhat remarkable tomb was erected to his memory. Thus terminated, B. C. 529, the best sustained career of conquest, of which a, thoroughly intelligible and trustworthy narrative has come down to us from those early times. Cyrus, however, was still only a conqueror. He made no name for himself as an administrator, neither did he attempt to consolidate his widely-scattered tributary states, and bring them under the control of a central Government.

Cambysis, the eldest son and successor of Cyrus the Great, though he overran Egypt, cannot be judged a conqueror. It may count for something that he defeated the Greek and Carian mercenaries in the pay of Psammetik III., and that the Libyans and the Greeks of Barca and Cyrene sent presents and sued for peace. The Phœnicians, however, positively refused to co-operate with him in his projected attack upon Carthage, their own colony, and the 50,000 troops he despatched from Thebes against the Oasis, and temple of Ammon, perished in the desert: while the still larger army he conducted in person against Ethiopia suffered so grievously in traversing the arid wilds of Nubia, that he was forced to renounce the enterprise, and return to Egypt with a mere relic of his host. His subsequent conduct was that of a madman, and may be lightly passed over.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, whose reign began B. C. 521, was cast in a very different mould. After employing five or six years in suppressing, with useful severity, the sporadic rebellions that broke out one after the other in different parts of the Empire—for it is noteworthy that no common action seems to have been taken by the disaffected tributaries of the old world monarchies—Darius applied himself to the task of constructing an empire, one and indivisible. He held the entire country with garrisons of Medes and Persians. Over each province he set a satrap, though Persia Proper was neither a satrapy, nor treated as a tributary State. His first expedition was directed against the Punjab, which he easily reduced. The Indus river he thoroughly explored from Attock to the sea. Master of Asia

Minor, he coveted the possession of Thrace. As a preliminary measure, he resolved to secure the tranquillity of Western Asia by chastising the incursions of the Scythians from the North-East. For that purpose he collected a fleet of 600 vessels chiefly supplied by the Asiatic Greeks, and transported an army, estimated at 700,000 men, across the Bosphorus, over a bridge of boats. Marching through Thrace, he crossed the Balkan range, and received the submission of the Getæ. Passing across the Danube by means of a bridge, composed of Ionian vessels, he entered Scythia, the inhabitants retiring into the interior as he advanced. Nevertheless Darius remained in their country for two months, and marched eastward to the Tarais or Don. Turning then towards the north, he arrived among the Budini, and set fire to the staple of Greek trade at Voronej. Returning, not without some loss to his own dominions, he left Megabozus, Thrace, with 80,000 men, who carried their arms to the confines of Macedonia. Byzantium, Chalcedon, Antrandrus, and Lameponium, with the islands of Temnos and Imbrus, were formally annexed to the Persian Empire, B. C. 505. The revolt of Ionia, and the wanton destruction of Sardis, were punished with condign severity, and proved the immediate cause of the invasion of Greece, and the downfall of Persia. The latter years of the reign of Darius were enbittered by the disastrous attempt of Mardonius to double the promontory of Mount Athos, by the defeat sustained by Datis at Marathon, and by the subsequent revolt of Egypt, which was suppressed by Xerxes. Darius himself died B. C. 486, and richly deserves the encomium passed upon him by Canon Rawlinson as "a skilful administrator, a good financier, and a wise, far-seeing ruler. Of all the Persian princes, he is the only one who can be called many-sided". He was organizer, general, statesman, administrator, builder, patron of art and literature, all in one. Without him Persia would probably have sunk as rapidly as she rose, and would be known to us only as one of the many meteor powers which have shot athwart the horizon of the East."

The most marvellous meteor power that ever shot athwart the troubled horizon of the East was undoubtedly Alexander of Macedon. As Niebuhr justly remarks, he set out upon his unplanned enterprise in the spirit of an adventurer. He had, strictly speaking, no reserve force to fall back upon in the event of disaster, for the troops under Antipater could not be spared from their duty of preserving peace in Greece and even in Macedonia. Neither had he any money beyond six months' pay for his "Army of Asia"—an army that must have been destroyed at the Granicus had the Persians possessed a General of the most ordinary intelligence and energy. As it was

Alexander marched from one conquest to another. His real difficulties began only when his work was well-nigh finished. His most implacable enemies were his own Macedonian subjects, alienated by his intemperance ; his wild excesses of temper ; his ruthless cruelty when thwarted ; above all by his adoption of Persian garments and usages ; his favouritism towards the effeminate Eastern races ; and his enlistment of a Persian phalanx that would have proved in battle as useless as a brigade of sepoys, without European officers to lead them. Towards the close of his career, his mind had become obscured and confused, so that his ulterior designs must for ever remain a mystery. So far as any materials exist for forming a judgment, it seems as though Alexander entertained a vague notion of building up a nation of heterogeneous races that should possess no traces of originally distinct nationality. For the rest, there is little to add to Niebuhr's masterly appreciation of the Macedonian portent :—

“ Very few men,” he states in his 74th Lecture, “ have acquired such an immense celebrity, both in Asia and Europe, as Alexander ; and among all the great men of History, if we except Charlemagne, and in a less degree Constantine, he is the only one that has become a poetical being. Alexander is for the East what Charlemagne is for the West ; and next to Rustam, he is the chief hero of the Persian fairy tales and romances. To us, also, he is a man of extraordinary importance, inasmuch as he gave a new appearance to the whole world. He began what will now be completed in spite of all obstacles—the dominion of Europe over Asia ; he was the first that led the victorious Europeans to the East. He has, also, become the national hero of the Greeks, although he was as foreign to them as Napoleon was to the French, notwithstanding that he traced his family to the mythical heroes of Greece \* \* It must, indeed, be acknowledged that Alexander is a most remarkable phenomenon ; but the praise bestowed on him can apply only to his great intelligence and his talents. He was altogether an extraordinary man with the vision of a prophet, a power for which Napoleon also was greatly distinguished ; when he came to a place, he immediately perceived its capability and its destination ; he had the eye which makes the practical man. If we had no other example of the keenness of his judgment, the fact that he built Alexandria would alone furnish sufficient evidence ; he discovered the point which was destined for 1500 years to form the link between Egypt, Europe and Asia.”

JAMES HUTTON.

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ART. VII.—CAMPAIGNS AGAINST INDIA.  
[A STRATEGICAL STUDY.]

*Condensed from the Original Russian of Major-General  
L. N. Soboleff of the Imperial Russian Army.*

INTRODUCTION.

IN the year 1877, Major David, of the Bombay Army published a pamphlet with the title—"Is a Russian Invasion of India feasible?"\* Eight years afterwards, *i. e.*, in the year 1885, General Soboleff paid the author of this pamphlet the great compliment of translating its contents *in extenso*, and of inserting them in his voluminous work which we shall often have occasion to quote. The distinguished Russian officer further annotated his translation, and appended thereto the following interesting note:—

"The question touched upon by Major David of the Anglo-Indian Army, indisputably belongs to the number of the most interesting of military political questions of the day—Is a Russian invasion of India feasible? Who will be the conqueror: the Russians or the English? What would result from a Russian victory? What would take place were England's rich Indian Empire to be torn from her?"† To decide such questions by mere theoretical investigation is, in our opinion, absolutely impossible. The future is obscured by the mist of uncertainty, and all that human curiosity and inquiry can do, is to forecast the *possible future* by the aid of certain sufficiently clear circumstances, and establish therewith a circumstantial analogy.

"We will not, therefore, attempt to arrive at even an approximate decision as to matters suggested by the questions above cited, but we will confine ourselves to adducing certain *data*, which can, to a great extent, aid politicians and military men in coming to a fairly accurate conclusion in the settlement of such questions.

"These data will be comprised in the following articles:—

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\* London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross, S. W. 1877.

† On pages 1239-1263 of the concluding portion of General Soboleff's work entitled—"A page out of the history of the Eastern Question. The Anglo-Afghan struggle (Sketch of the War of 1878-1880.)" will be found an interesting examination of the question—"Is a Russian invasion of India possible?" And on pages 1263-1351 of the same work, are set forth abridged sketches of the following historical campaigns against India, a perusal of which does much to supply an answer to the questions above set forth.—*Author.*

1. "Brief review of the campaigns undertaken from the West, and through Afghanistan against India.\*
2. "Russian conquests in Central Asia.
3. "Order of the Emperor Paul I. concerning a campaign against India.
4. "Project of Napoleon for an invasion of India by land.
5. "Future occupation of Herat by Russian troops."

General Soboleff opens the first of these articles with the following preface :—

"Whilst engaged in the study of the last Anglo-Afghan war, and of the power of the English in the East Indies, we could not but glance into history, or fail to review, although in the general features only of the question, the circumstances under which the continent of India has been subjected to inroads of conquerors from the West through Afghanistan.

"We had a vast quantity of material, but for the thorough working up of this, many years would have been required ; still, in view of its extreme interest, we decided not to wait for the accomplishment of this task, and so in the following pages we offer brief sketches of some of the more remarkable campaigns against rich India. In the sketches, we have endeavoured to explain, as far as possible, the question as to the practicability for troops of the mountain passes leading into and through Afghanistan, and those which have always presented the chief obstacle to conquerors of the Indian continent.

"India has no record of her own history, for she has had no historians, such as we meet with amongst either Jews, Greeks, Romans, or other races. The Brahmins are the most educated class in India, and although they have collected data, and have described historical events, they have kept, and even now keep, their labours a profound secret. Moreover, the greater part of their records have been destroyed during the repeated foreign inroads into India, especially Mussulman, either by the Brahmins themselves or by their conquerors. It is only from the times of Muhammadan invasions, *i. e.*, from the 10th century of our era, that the fog which has enveloped India, has begun to clear away, and now, thanks to the researches of various persons, we can place before ourselves a fairly clear representation of the history of Hindustan for the last nine centuries. As regards, however,

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\* Brief review of the historical campaigns against India undertaken from the West and through Afghanistan.

1. "Campaign of Semiramide ;—2. Sesostris ;—3. Cyrus ;—4. Darius ;—5. Alexander the Great ;—6. Antiochus III (the Great) ;—7. Demetrius ;—8. Eucratides (son of Heliodorus and Laodice) ;—9. Arshak II (the Great) ;—10. Campaign of the Scythians ;—11. Naushirwan ;—12. Uguz-Khan ;—13. Sabaktagin ;—14. Mahmud of Ghazni ;—15. Muhammad of Guri ;—16. Chingiz-Khan ;—17. Campaigns of the Mongols after Chingiz-Khan ;—18. Timur Beg or Timur Lang (Tamerlane) ; 19.—Abu Bkr-Mirza ;—20. Babar ;—21. Nadir-Shah.—*Author.*

historical information about India prior to such Muhammadan invasions, this can only be gathered from a few Persian, Greek and Roman works and still fewer Chinese."

*Brief review of the campaigns undertaken against India from the West and through Afghanistan.*

I. Campaigns against India from the most ancient times to the beginning of the Mussulman invasions.

1. *Semiramide*.<sup>\*</sup>—"From remote antiquity India has been considered the source of riches, and she has been called the *paradise of peoples*. When, too, on the continent of Europe, there dwelt semi-barbarous races, and there roamed numerous wild beasts, Hindustan had a large population, and had already become a civilized country.

"The boundless wealth of India has drawn towards it great conquerors, and the first of these was the famous Assyrian Empress Semiramide.

"Ancient historians tell us that she was the wife of one of the officers of the Emperor of Assyria, Ninus, who, having become enamoured of her, took her from her husband, and that she, on his death, succeeded to the throne of Assyria.

"Greek historians relate, that Semiramide collected a countless host for the conquest of India, but by what route the invasion was made is not told. It is, however, an important historical fact, that the general plan of Semiramide's conquest of India took the shape of the previous subjugation of Bactriana, (Balkh). The historian Stezias, describes the preparations made by Semiramide for the invasion of India as surpassing all belief. Diodor, too, speaks of them in the same sense. Semiramide, having taken her forces through the country now known as Afghanistan, reached the banks of the Indus, where she overthrew the numerous host, and a large number of elephants of her adversary Strabobitus, sovereign of India. Strabobitus now retired into the interior of his country, and Semiramide, flushed with victory, followed after him, and then came upon a powerful army. A bloody engagement ensued in which Semiramide herself was wounded, and having lost two-thirds of her forces, she was compelled to withdraw across the Indus."

<sup>\*</sup> This campaign took place in the XII Century B. C. Previous to his ascending the throne of Assyria, Ninus, the husband of Semiramide, had possessed himself of Bactriana (the modern Afghan-Turkistan). Semiramide marched with a numerous army on India (passing through what is now Afghanistan) and defeated the Indian army on the banks of the Indus. The Indians decided, however, on enticing her into the heart of the country, and this they succeeded in doing. The army of the Assyrian Empress was then defeated, and she herself having been wounded in the fight, and having lost two-thirds of her forces, returned to her own capital. Indian historians related to Greek writers, during the campaign of Alexander the Great in India, that Semiramide lost her entire army and returned to her own country with only 20 men (Collin de Bar, *Histoire de l'Inde, ancienne et moderne*. Paris 1814.)—*Author*.



Thus disastrously terminated the first known invasion of India.

2. *Campaign of Sesosthis*.—This Egyptian Pharaoh, according to the testimony of some historians, invaded India, crossed the Ganges, and overran the entire country up to the shores of the Bay of Bengal,\* or, as Diodor expresses it, "he marched as far as the Ganges, and having traversed the whole of India, reached the Great Ocean."

3. *Campaign of Cyrus*.—"Until the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Persian (538 B. C.) historians make hardly any mention of India. Cyrus, who was the founder of the Persian monarchy, set out with a splendidly organised army for the conquest of India, but his campaign was disastrous, for he returned with only seven men, and yet we know positively that Cyrus advanced the boundaries of the Persian monarchy as far as the banks of the Indus."

4. *Campaign of Darius*.—"Darius I, kinsman of Cyrus, ascended the throne of Persia towards the close of the 6th century B. C., and he strengthened the Persian frontier along the Indus. He also annexed to his monarchy several of the North-Western Provinces of India, and he made of these a 20th satrapy. Wishing to know where the Indus flowed into the ocean, he despatched a fleet under Silaxes to make this discovery. After taking 30 months to reach the ocean, Silaxes brought his fleet again up the river.

5. *Campaign of Alexander the Great*.—"In the year 334 B. C., Alexander the Great, having settled the affairs of Greece and of Macedonia, marched with an excellently disciplined and equipped army, of a strength of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry into Persia. In the same year he defeated the Persians before Granica, and in the following year at Issa, and in the year 331 B. C., he inflicted a decisive blow on his rival Darius, and caused him to take refuge in Bactria, the modern Balkh, where he was killed.

"Subsequently Alexander himself directed his attention to this province (Bactria) to which he took with him only his light troops. He, however, largely availed himself of the offers made to him on all sides of alliance, and in this respect he displayed the wisdom of an experienced diplomatist. This circumstance does much to explain how it was that Alexander, who really had but a very small force of Greeks, conducted in such a short time several remarkable campaigns and effected such vast conquests.

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\* The question which we are now examining as to the military power of the English in India, raises another question; "When and who invaded the Indian peninsula through Afghanistan?" This brief sketch of the campaigns against India is but an extract of a work which I am preparing for the press, but which is far from being completed.—*Author*.

"The great conqueror in his advance through the country now called Afghanistan, went by Kandahar and Ghazni into the Logar and Pighman circles of the Kabul plain. Having made the passage of the Hindu-Kush \* in a period of from 15 to 17 days, he reached the town of Indar-ab."†

"Having now conquered Central Asia from Farghana to the Caspian Sea, Alexander, in the year 327 B. C., undertook his famous campaign against India. On this occasion he passed from north to south of the Hindu-Kush by a shorter route, which took him only 10 days. He then came out on the Kabul river, at a point below the junction of the rivers Gorbund and Panj-Shir,‡ and so reached the town of Nika§ on the modern village of Behram, near the town of Jalalabad. He then sent a portion of his army on to Peshawar,|| ordering this column to prepare every thing for the passage of the river Indus; the rest of his forces he himself led across the mountains, which lie to the north of the Kabul river. He had to cross very rapid rivers and high mountain passes, and at the siege of one town, the ruins of which must lie near Chigi to the north of Bajaur, he was wounded, but not dangerously. From Chigi he went to what is now known as the village of Jandaul, in the principality of Bajaur. Having captured Jandaul, the Greeks marched on the town of Dir. Not far from Dir, the mountaineers attacked Alexander's forces, but he obtained a brilliant victory over them, in which he captured 40,000 men, and 230,000 head of horned cattle. After this victory, the Macedonian army passed through Talash into the Sevada valley wherein was the chief stronghold of the Assakani. Here Alexander laid siege to the town of Massaga, the modern Manglaur. This town was defended by a mercenary force of natives of India, and these men for three days, repelled the Macedonian attack, but on the fourth they had to open negotiations. After agreeing to enter the ranks of Alexander's army, they proved traitors, and so were all condemned to death, and Massaga was occupied by the Macedonians. From the Sevada valley, Alexander turned to the north-east into Buner, crossing the Ailam range by a road leading from Novagai to Sagaden. From here he subdued the provinces immediately adjacent to

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\* The part of the Hindu-Kush range which the Macedonians crossed was at that time forestless, but there grazed over its slopes vast herds of large and small cattle. The flesh of these animals when seasoned with *silfu* (a plant of local growth) served as the sole food of the campaigners.—*Author*.

† Alexander crossed by the Parwan Pass, which was crossed in the year 1836, A. D. by Messrs Buines, Loid and Wood, members of an English mission.—*Author*.

‡ See Grigorieff's *Kabulistan and Kafiristan*.—*Author*.

§ From the foot of the Hindu-Kush range, Alexander made for Nika, *viâ* the Patchgai valley, and the Korai and Badpash passes.—*Author*.

|| This column went not by the Khaibar route, but along the left bank of the Kabul river from Lalpura to Hasht-nagar by the so-called Karan route.—*Author*.

the Indus. Subsequently he turned his attention to those mountaineers who had taken up a strong position on Mount Aornos. The Macedonian army crossed the river Indus on boats, which they built for themselves from timber in the forests skirting the river banks.

"We are not acquainted with the real reasons which induced Alexander to pass through Kafiristan on his way from Balkh towards India. Of course, in selecting this route, he had to cross a mass of mountain ranges, to pass through terrible gorges, and to get over mountain streams and ravines without number, whilst there lay open to him the very practicable route along the Kabul river. *However this may be, the circumstance is important in proving that regular troops can make their way from Balkh to India, not only by way of the Bamian-Kabul and the Khaibar routes, but by tracks within the very heart of the Hindu-Kush mountain range.*"\* It is very likely that Alexander wished to reach India without encountering races distinguished for their wild and warlike propensities."

From this brief sketch of Alexander's march from Bactria (the modern Afghanistan) to the Indus, we see that the Hindu-Kush does not present special difficulties in the passage of troops across it, since Alexander crossed that range in 10 days. This historical and thoroughly authentic circumstance should completely convince those who suppose that the Hindu-Kush range is an insurmountable obstacle, that such a notion is a pure error; for in the description of the campaigns against India of other conquerors, we shall see that, whilst all the passes of the Hindu-Kush are not equally practicable, none of them are insurmountable by troops. But for us Russians the following circumstance is of extraordinary importance, Whilst everybody admits that the route from Kabul to Peshawar, *via* Jalalabad and the Khaibar pass, is practicable for troops, it is also a fact that in the fourth century B. C., Macedonian regular troops, heavily equipped, reached the Indus in two columns by other routes altogether. Thus Alexander himself passed through Bajour, Jandaul, Sevađa and Buner, and his other column followed the Karan route along the left bank of the Kabul river."

Having established his dominion in the valley of this river and of its affluents, where dwelt from of old a race of warlike mountaineers, Alexander, who had surmounted the most difficult obstacles on his route from Bactria to the Indus at Attock, was offered on his entering into the Punjab delta, an alliance † by Taxilla against Porus, one of the most powerful of the sovereigns of India. The combined forces accordingly advanced

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\* Passage italicised in original text.

† Taxilla also supplied 130 Elephants — *Author*.

to the river Hydaspes (the modern Jhelum) on the banks of which the army of Porus was encamped. In the spring of the year 326 B. C., this army was defeated, and Porus fell a prisoner into Alexander's hands, but the captor, after his advance into the interior of India, and after seeing her dense population decided on not annexing that vast country to his empire, and so he released Porus from captivity, and restored him to the throne on certain conditions.

Although Porus, the principal sovereign of India, had been conquered and had rendered fealty to his conqueror, the other warlike races of India resolved to sell their independence dearly. Accordingly, they formed an alliance, and appeared before the army of the invader of their country. The Macedonians thereupon attacked this combination, and overthrew the united forces, with a loss of 17,000 men killed, 75,000 prisoners, and 300 war chariots. The town, too, of Sangala, the capital of the Kateni, who had entered the combination against the Macedonians, was taken by storm.

Alexander's further progress through India resembled any other triumphant march of a great army leader of old. It seems that Alexander had at the time formed the intention of occupying the valley of the Ganges, but he did not carry out this plan, because his troops refused to proceed any further. Indeed, his army had been engaged for eight consecutive years in uninterrupted campaigns, and had, since leaving Europe, marched nearly 14,000 *versets* (9,333 miles). It had, too, since its entering into India, in the spring of the year 326 B. C., marched under heavy rain. The troops, therefore, were both fatigued and burdened with booty. Accordingly, Alexander, who did not desire to finally shatter discipline in the ranks of his army, and who was by this time convinced, that the complete subjugation of the whole of the Indian peninsula was not within the power of Greeks and Macedonians, resolved to return to Babylon, his new capital; but great difficulties attended his return march. On arrival at the Jhelum, boats were constructed, and a portion of his troops, with the baggage train, floated down this river, and finally descended the Indus. Another column marched along the banks of these rivers. But whilst he was so returning, Alexander had to maintain a guerilla warfare with many Indian potentates, and in one of such engagements he was severely wounded. On recovering from this wound, he continued his march along the Indus, and on reaching the lower course of this river, the Macedonian army moved by three routes. One column under the leadership of Nearchus reached the sea in boats. A second column under Crater passed overland through Arachosia and Karamania, or the modern Biluchistan and Kirman. A third column, under the personal command of the

Emperor, marched through Hedrosia and across the desert which extends from the Indus to the Bolan, and so on through Southern Afghanistan. The Macedonians got back from their Indian campaign in the year 323 B. C. The land march from the Indus was very difficult; for the route in several places lay over terrible wastes, a fact which explains the severe loss which the army of the great Macedonian leader suffered ere it reached Babylon.

In the course of nine years' progress, and of a record of fresh conquests, Alexander personally conducted the following campaigns.

*Conquest of Persia and of Egypt.*—In this, his army traversed a distance of more than 4,000 *versts* (2,670 miles) in its passage from Macedonia through Asia Minor and Damascus to Northern Egypt, and thence back to Babylon.

*Campaign in Bactriana.*—From Babylon through Kandahar to the valley of the Kabul river, thence across the Hindu-Kush to Balkh. Distance traversed 3,300 *versts* (2,200 miles).

*Campaigns in Turkistan.*—From Balkh to the eastern part of Farghana and Scythia, thence to the Caspian Sea, and back to Balkh. Distance traversed more than 4,000 *versts* (2,670 miles).

*Campaign against India.*—From Balkh across the Hindu-Kush to the Punjab and beyond. Thence back to the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Indus. Distance traversed 3,000 *versts* (2,000 miles).

*Return to Babylon.*—Distance traversed about 2,000 *versts* (1,330 miles).

Thus, from the time of its departure from Macedonia, in the spring of the year 334 B. C., to the date of its return to Babylon in the year 325 B. C., a period of nine years, the army of Alexander the Great marched more than 16,000 *versts* (10,670 miles).

Two years after his return to Babylon, *viz.*, in the year 323 B. C., the great Grecian conqueror died, and then his vast monarchy was divided amongst his chief military leaders.

6. *Campaign of Antiochus III (the Great).*—We have seen that, on the death of Alexander the Great, the vast Macedonian monarchy fell as a spoil to the several army-leaders. Civil war ensued, and the ever-changing States formed thereby constantly altered their frontiers according to the side on which victory for the time might lie. At the time when Selcucus-Nikanor became supreme, the two Indian sovereigns, Porus and Taxilla, whose names are familiar to us, recognised his suzerainty, but after they passed away, chaos reigned in India until one Sandrakott, a simple soldier, but a man of talent, built upon the ruins of the dominions of Porus and of Taxilla a powerful state, with a military organization modelled after the Greek. He,

too, recognised Seleucus as his suzerain, but Seleucus was, as we know, slain in the year 281 B. C., and then one of his successors, Antiochus III (the Great), who reigned from 224 to 187 B. C., wishing to restore the size of Alexander's monarchy, undertook a series of wars, during which he re-conquered the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, and then crossed the Hindu-Kush \* with the object of invading India.

7. *Campaign of Demetrius.*—Demetrius, who was the son of the Greco-Bactrian King Efidemus, made vast conquests in India, of which Strabo speaks. Justinian, too, makes mention of him as “an Indian sovereign.” †. He conquered the country along the lower course of the Indus about the year 195 B. C.

8. *Campaign of Eucratides.*—Eucratides, a Greco-Bactrian king, ‡ who, according to Justinian, though much harassed by his neighbours, carried out vast conquests in India, for Strabo also speaks of him as “the lord of a thousand cities of India” (see Book XV., Chap. I § 3.) He penetrated into India as far as the river Jhelum, and on his return from his Indian campaign, he was killed by his own son.

Eucratides waged war both against Demetrius, the Greco-Bactrian king above-mentioned, and also against Menanda, (about B. C. 160), and later on against Apollodotus, of whom historians make mention as powerful sovereigns of India.

Unfortunately the same historians do not tell us by what passes of the Hindu-Kush Antiochus III (the Great), and Demetrius and Eucratides crossed during their campaigns against India, but it is important that we have at the same time fresh confirmation of the fact, that the Hindu-Kush was no obstacle to any of these sovereigns, or for the passage of their troops from Bactria into India.

9. *Campaign of Arshak II (the Great).*—Not long after its formation the Greco-Bactrian kingdom began to fall into decay, because of the rising power of the Parthians, and of the inroads of the wild Scythian nomads. In the interval between the campaign against India of Antiochus III (the Great) || and of

\* The continued close connection which has existed between the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, the valley of the Kabul river, and the valley of the Indus, shows that the Hindu-Kush range has not proved a special barrier, nor does this range even now hinder constant communication between Kabul and Afghan-Turkistan.—*Author.*

† See Grigorieff's interesting article headed the “Greco-Bactrian kingdom,” in the *Journal of the Minister of Popular Education.*—*Author.*

‡ He ascended the throne about the year 183 or 181 B. C., and reigned after Efidemus.—*Author.*

|| These interesting extracts are taken from a work drawn from eastern manuscripts preserved in the Paris Bibliothèque, and from other sources. The material thus gained was compiled by Mr. I. M. Shagan Chirbet, an Armenian, employed in the Bibliothèque, and engaged in researches in eastern languages, and by Mons. F. Martin, a Frenchman, learned in Armenian literature. The whole was published at Paris in 1806 in the French language, and was translated into Russian by Alexander Khudobasheff at St. Petersburg in 1816.—*Author.* •

Eucratides, there unexpectedly rose up a Parthian king, named Arshak II (the Great). Regarding his campaign against India, we do not know very much. Making a rapid movement into Bactriana, he took possession of that kingdom, and then conquered the entire country from Persia to the Sea of Azoff, including also a portion of Scythia. In one of the histories relating to ancient Asia, we read the following:—"Arshak,\* with an immense army, penetrated into the heart of Persia, conquered many peoples, and invaded India as far as the banks of the Indus (in the year 194 B. C.). He moreover effected all these conquests in a space of only three years. He then set up satrapies in every province of his vast empire, and returned to his own capital, crowned with glory and burdened with rich booty."

"With respect to the campaign of Arshak II (the Great,) we think it useful to remark, *that before he entered upon his invasion of India, he thought it expedient to conquer Bactriana and a portion of Central Asia.*† He thus followed the example set by Semiramide, and by Alexander the Great.

10. *Campaigns of the Scythians and of the Saks.*—After the campaigns against India of the Greco-Bactrians and of the Parthians, historians tell us of the invasion of that country by nomad races, called Scythians and Saks. These nomads eclipsed even the glory of the Parthians. At the beginning of the 2nd century B. C., the Saks occupied the country, now known as Djungaria, and the Scythians dwelt in Tangut. Having driven back in the year 177 B. C.‡ an inroad of the Huns, the Scythians gradually moved towards the south-west, driving the Saks before them, until subsequently both these races occupied the banks of the Jaxartes (Sir-Daria). As, however, the Scythians appeared on this river in ever increasing numbers, the Saks retired towards Sogdiana (or the country which is now known as Russia's Zaratshan province.) About the year 120 B. C., the Scythians crossed the Oxus (Amu-Daria), and occupied Bactria. During the first-half of the century preceding the Christian era, the Scythians could place 100,000 men in the field, but they were still divided into five tribes, each of which had its own district. But about this time, however, the ruler of the Oxus (Amu-Daria) district, united the several tribes, and speedily founded a vast Scythian Empire.

The Saks moved still further westward, and made inroads into Khurassan and Southern Afghanistan. Both nomad races, *i. e.*, an intermixture of the two, subsequently invaded India, crossing by the mountain passes, dividing that country from

\* Some called him Arsak. He ascended the throne of Parthia about the year 194 B. C.—*Author.*

† Passage italicised in original text.

‡ See Grigorieff's *Kabulistan and Kafiristan*, pp. 779 and following.—*Author.*

Afghanistan. The Scythians crossed by the Hindu-Kush range, the Saks by the Sulciman range, or rather by the Khwaja-Amran chain. In the middle of the 1st century B. C., a mixture of Saks and Scythians took possession of part of the Paropamisus range, and of the provinces south of it. They soon overran the whole of the course of the Indus down to the sea, and the country which they then occupied in time received the name of Scythia. A hundred years after this, *i. e.*, in the time of Ptolemy, the country stretching from the mouths of the Indus eastwards up to the Kabul and Sutlej rivers, was called Indo-Scythia.\* It was during this period that the mountain country which marks the North-Western frontier of what is now British India, was the scene of ceaseless strife. Such, then, is the information regarding the extension of the dominion of the Saks and of the Scythians, which we find in the writings of ancient classic and Chinese historians; and though the history of the conquests of these races in India is greatly altered by other historians, the compilation of a regular chronology of the nomad conquerors of India would take us too far away from our present task. The important consideration for us Russians is, that these nomad horsemen undoubtedly moved freely across the passes both of the Hindu-Kush and of the other ranges, of what is now known as Afghanistan. The Scythians, as nomads, had no regular army so that when they crossed the Hindu-Kush, they, in all probability, moved not by one or two passes, but by several at a time, for they advanced like any other nomad race, with a wide front, taking with them their families, studs of horses, droves of camels, herds of horned cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats.

11. *Campaign of Naushirwan, Emperor of Persia*:—After the campaigns against India of the Scythians and Saks, there occurred in Central and Western Asia, a series of wars, so that what had at one time been one large sovereignty, was often split up into several small independent States, and this saved rich India from foreign invasions.

But in the 6th century A. D., there succeeded to the throne of Persia a great politician and army leader, Naushirwan. He reigned from 531 to 579 A. D., and during that period obtained considerable successes over the Roman Empire, until, at last, a portion of Arabia and of Syria, Bactria, the whole of the Oxus basin, a portion of the basin of the Jaxartes, including the country now known as the Province of Farghana, and the whole of modern Afghanistan came under his sway. He subsequently conquered all the countries to the west of the rivers Indus, and also

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\* When the Saks made their appearance in India, they altogether lost their distinctive designation, and likewise went by the name of Scythians.—*Author.*



certain of the Upper Provinces of India. Malcolm,\* the historian of Persia, says that his military successes were surprising, and that to the end of his life he knew how to preserve intact the great empire which he had founded. In his day the limits of Persia stretched far beyond the ancient Persian monarchy, to which modern braggart Persians set pretensions. But Naushirwan's son was not able to preserve the integrity of his father's empire; for in the VII century, we find in Kabulistan a group of small weak principalities, which served, however, as a guarantee for the independence of India. But at the time of which we are now speaking, a small portion of the North-West of India was in a state of vassalship to the warlike ruler of Capissa or (Kabul-Kohistan), (see Grigorieff's *Kabulistan and Kafiristan*) but in the VII. century A. D., this vassalship passed to Kashmir

12. *Campaign of Uguz-Khan* :—Chingiz-Khan has generally been considered to have been the founder of the power of the Mongol-Tatars. But this idea is inexact, because for four centuries before Chingiz-Khan appeared, the Mongols had a leader who made vast conquests in Asia, south-eastern Europe and north-eastern Africa, and he it was, who undoubtedly prepared the way for, and facilitated the future triumph of, the Mongols.

We speak of Uguz-Khan, an Uigur of the Mongol race. His dominion was established in the VIII and IX. centuries of the Christian era.

In Abul Ghazi-Khan's history of the Mongols and Tatars,† we find a very circumstantial account of the campaigns against India of the Mongol chief, Uguz-Khan, who, after overthrowing his rivals, including his own father, subjected to himself the nomad tents (*ulus*) of his own tribe, and also those of neighbouring tribes. As soon, too, as he had got the power into his own hands, he organized and disciplined an army with which he yearly carried out campaigns, defeated the Tatars, who at their time possessed a part of China, and amassed an enormous amount of booty. His successes brought him allies, and then after securing his own country on the side of China, he launched his cavalry to the west and south-west, and conquered many sovereignties including Tibet and Kara-Kitai, and then undertook a campaign against Turkistan and India.‡ His first movement in this direction was the passage of the Oxus (Amu-Daria)

\* *Histoire de la Perse*. Paris 1821. 4 tomes. Translation from the English See page 220, tome I.—*Author*.

† *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatars*, par Abul-Ghazi-Khan. Publiée, traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaisons, tome II. Traduction. St. Petersburg 1874. See page 73.—*Author*.

‡ Uguz Khan (Ogguz Khan) is spoken of "as the possessor of the greater portion of the Universe," and as having "reigned for 70 years" in the *Shebaniadi*, or *History of the Mongol Turks, in the Jagatai dialect, with translation, notes and appenda*. Published by I. Berezin, at Kazan in 1849.—*Author*.

and the conquest of Bactria. After this he led his troops into the province of Ghur, an undertaking which involved a laborious mountain expedition, during which the Mongol army moved forward with the greatest difficulty, but Uguz-Khan had given strict orders that no one should dare to halt, and so the advance was continued, and the country was subdued. And yet there exists abundant testimony to prove Uguz-Khan's solicitude for the lives of his soldiers consistent with the strict discipline which existed in the Mongol army long before the appearance of Chinghiz-Khan. We know, too, that the army which crossed the Hindu-Kush during the winter season, consisted of cavalry alone. Proceeding onwards, Uguz-Khan took possession of Kabul and of Ghazni, and then undertook his inroads into the valley of the Indus. But his primary objective was Kashmir, of which the sovereign at the time was one Yagma. Defended as he was by wide gorges and high mountains, Yagma refused to surrender to the Mongol invader of his country. A whole year was taken up with the subjugation of Kashmir, during which much blood was shed on both sides. At length the Mongols occupied the country, and put Yagma and his troops to the sword. After the lapse of some time, Uguz-Khan marched towards Samarkand, passing through Badakhshan on his way back to his own country Mongolia.

The campaign of Uguz-Khan against Turkistan, Bactria, Afghanistan and India is best described "as a brilliant cavalry raid," for in the space of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years, the Mongols traversed more than 11,000 *versts* (7,340) miles. Passing rapidly over the steppe, their cavalry were detained at certain of the forts of Turkistan, and in the mountains of Afghanistan, on account of a severe winter and deep snow. After they had conquered a portion of Afghanistan, and had invaded India, they subdued the mountain country of Kashmir and proceeded, *via* Ghilgit and Yassin, crossing by the Darkot and Baroghil passes (12,000 feet above sea-level) into Badakhshan.

We do not know what was the size of the baggage train which accompanied the army of Uguz-Khan, but we do know that it had with it camels, or in other words, pack transports. With regard to food, as Mongols are generally not fastidious, we may suppose that their chief stand by was *Koumiss* (fermented, milk of the mare), and the flesh of horses, camels and sheep.

Such was the Mongol leader, who more than four centuries before the time of Chinghiz-Khan, was the terror of Asia. He it was who founded the dominion of the Mongol-Tatars, and it was his example that Chingiz-Khan followed later on. What, then, were the chief causes that enabled this Mongol leader to carry out military triumphs so surprising? That he was a highly talented man there can be no doubt. But evidently

that is not the sole explanation. We suppose, therefore, that one of the principal reasons of his success lay in the fact, that the Mongol troops had excellent horses which they knew how to ride \*

The excellence of their horses constituted the great military superiority of the Mongol-Tatars, but no less remarkable was the ability to do with little and poor food, which characterised the Mongol, and the Tatar himself, of those far off times.

The chief sources of information, in the compilation of the foregoing and of the subsequent chapters of this paper, are the following :—

I. *Collin de Bar.*—*Histoire de l'Inde ancienne et moderne.* Paris 1814.

II. *Chibert and Martin.*—Interesting extracts concerning the ancient history of Asia, culled from Eastern manuscripts in the Paris Bibliothèque, and from other sources. Translated into Russian from the French. St. Petersburg 1816.

III. *Malcolm.*—*Histoire de la Perse*, translated into French from the English. Paris 1821.

IV. *Grigoriëff.*—*Kabulistan and Kafiristan.* St. Petersburg, 1867. The Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

V. *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, par *Aboul-Ghazi-Khan* ; publiée, traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaison. St. Petersburg, 1874.

VI. *Edward Sullivan.*—*The Conquerors, Warriors, and Statesmen of India.* London, 1866.

## CHAPTER II.

13. *Campaign of Sabaktagin.*—With the beginning of the Mussulman era, there set in a fresh epoch of conquest in the name of the prophet Mahomet, and to this conquest India was also subjected. During the time of their Caliph, Muavin, the Mussulmans had already possessed themselves of Kabul and Lughman ; and although in the year 699 A.D. they were driven therefrom, in the VIII. century A.D. having gained the line of the Hindu-Kush, they overran the whole of Afghanistan. Towards the end of the IX. century, there arose the kingdom, of Ghazni, which was founded by a certain Abustakin,† an exile from Bukhara, who had become dissatisfied with his own sovereign. This man had with him 800 adherents, and amongst

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\* In corroboration of this idea, we would refer the reader to the *History of the Eastern part of Central Asia between the X and XIII centuries A. D., with a Chinese rescript regarding the Kidaputks, Durdjenyaks, Mongol-Tatars.* St. Petersburg, 1857. See also chap. VIII of the *Notes on the Moghul-Tartars*, written during the life of Chingiz-Khan.—*Author.*

† *Malcolm. Histoire de la Perse.* Page 2, tome II.—*Author.*

them, in the character of a simple soldier, was Sabaktagin. In the year 976 A.D., Abustakin died, and as his son Isaak, a debauchee, did not long outlive him, the Ghazni kingdom lacked a direct descendant, so that the adherents of the newly-founded state proceeded to elect a head from amongst themselves. Their choice fell on Sabaktagin, a brave soldier, who had been promoted by his former master for various exploits, and who had won general respect in the ranks of the soldiery.

Sabaktagin then was the founder of the greatness of the Ghazni kingdom, and of the dynasty of the Ghaznivides. He was both an excellent soldier and a good ruler. The first conquests which he undertook were towards the south-west, and soon his standards waved on the banks of the Helmond. But as an orthodox Muhammadan, Sabaktagin soon turned his attention eastwards, in the direction of India, where reigned "the unbelievers."

Having defeated the Indian Sovereign Jaipal, who at that time possessed Kabul, he compelled him to conclude a treaty of peace; but when Jaipal broke this pact, Sabaktagin \* invaded Lughman, "and turned a flourishing and populous country into a desert." He also took possession of many other parts of the country, everywhere overthrowing the Buddhist temples and other local shrines, and erecting mosques on their ruins.

Malcolm, on the authority of Zeenut ul-Tuarikh'a, says that Jaipal confronted the Mussulmans with an army of 300,000 men, but was attacked and out-manœuvred by Sabaktagin's army of 60,000 men. The Indians then fled, leaving behind them an enormous booty. Sabaktagin subsequently occupied Peshawur. His death took place in the year 997 A.D.

14. *Campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazni.*—Mahmud, the eldest son of Sabaktagin, may be called the real conqueror of India, since he undertook no less than twelve campaigns against that country. Mahmud, when his father died, was away in Khurasan. This circumstance gave his brother Ismail an opportunity of seizing the throne; but when Mahmud's forces attacked him, Ismail was defeated, and was thrown into prison where he died. Mahmud resembled his father in many respects, having great strength of will, and being distinguished for his severity. He was undoubtedly possessed, too, of great talents; for in a short time he subdued to Mussalman dominion, the richest provinces of India. Towards the close of his life, however, having become enormously rich, he became also very miserly. Like his father, Mahmud loved the arts and sciences, and during his reign Ghazni was renowned for its riches and its

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\* Grigorieff. *Kabulistan and Kafiristan.*—Author.

glory, and became the centre of Muhammadan learning, whilst his sovereignty was acknowledged throughout the vast continent of Asia. He was 28 years of age when he ascended the throne of Ghazni.

We will not in our present remarks attempt to describe all the conquests of Mahmud in India, but we will invite the attention of our readers to some only of his campaigns. *For us Russians, it is a very important fact that, besides the two well-known passes which lead from the West into India, viz., the Khaibar and the Bolan, there exist also other intermediate routes across the Suleiman range, by which it would be possible for a strong army to open a way for itself into India.* \* The campaigns of Mahmud, undertaken from Ghazni towards India, perfectly convince us, as we shall see further on, of the practicability of the so-called Gomal pass, leading from the town of Ghazni to the banks of the Indus at Dera-Ismail-Khan.

A profound believer in the religion of the prophet Mahomet, Mahmud made it the object of his whole life to subdue the peoples of the East, and to convert them to his own faith. His especial attention was therefore directed to the inhabitants of Hindustan, against whom his first campaign was conducted in the year 1001 A. D. Entering the province of Peshawur, he encountered the army of Jaipal, with whose name we are already familiar. Mahmud's force consisted of 10,000, all told, whereas Jaipal confronted him with 12,000 horsemen, 130,000 foot-soldiers, and 300 elephants. The Indians were defeated, and Jaipal taken prisoner, but he was released in return for a heavy ransom, and his necklace, valued at 8 lakhs of rupees, was taken from him. After this Jaipal, who had been twice defeated by the invader, no longer desired to be a king, and so he vacated the throne in favour of his son, Ananidnapal, and voluntarily immolated himself on a funeral pile.

The same year (1001 A. D.) Mahmud returned to Ghazni after setting up his own administrator at Peshawar, and annexing to his monarchy the country along the right bank of the Indus. During the three following years, Mahmud at the head of a powerful army, composed of Arabs, Turks, Afghans and other Muhammadans, carried out three campaigns against the north-west of India. These resulted in the annexation of the town of Multan, together with the whole of the Peshawur valley. He spared no human life, except on condition of conversion to Muhammadanism. The Indians called him "the destroyer," for he both slew them and overthrew and plundered their temples.

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\* This Passage is italicised in the original text.

During the first ten years of his unbroken series of campaigns against India, Mahmud went no further than the province of the Punjab ; but in the year 1011 A. D., he decided upon carrying the war into the heart of India, and into those of her provinces that were vast, thickly populated, and rich.

The object of this more extended plan of operations was the overthrow of Tannassar (Tanesar) the principal Hindu shrine between Lahore and Delhi. In spite, therefore, of the entreaties of the worshippers of this shrine, he gave the temple over to destruction, and its slabs and stones were sent to pave the streets of Ghazni, Mecca, and Baghdad.

In the year 1013 A. D., Mahmud sent an army to pillage Kashmir, and in the year 1015 A. D., he again invaded that country. At last he resolved to attack Kanoj, which at this period was the capital of India ; but Delhi, as the more ancient capital, was still celebrated for the luxuriance of its wonderful gardens. Delhi, too, was the chief Hindoo mart, and the most important of the trade centres of Hindustan. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1018 A. D., Mahmud, having got rid of the difficulties which he had encountered in Kharezm, (Khiva) and Bukhara, and having placed a large army in winter quarters at Balkh, advanced at the head of 100,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry against India. His route lay through Kashmir and towards Peshawur.

This movement was, however, only a feint, and intended to screen his main object. The Indians, who were accustomed to see this fierce Mussulman in the valley of Kashmir, supposed that he would, in all probability, return thence to Ghazni, as he had already done on two occasions, but they were deeply mistaken, for the Mussulman host turned aside to cross the highest mountain passes in the world. This host recognised no obstacles, and overcame with stubborn manliness the most terrible impediments that nature could present. The march was a triumph, and one that excites profound amazement ; indeed, it could only have been conducted by a man possessed of unusual strength of will, before which everything bowed itself, and whose possessor could make his officers and soldiers fulfil that which no one else would have dared to demand from them.

People, who are acquainted with mountain warfare in Asia, can easily comprehend our sentiments, for they know that several of the highest ranges had to be crossed by Mahmud's army ; that this army traversed countries of remarkable sterility, and that it surmounted colossal snow passes and dangerous mountain streams. And all this was done to conceal the real objective of the army, so that military history,—neither ancient nor modern—recounts to us any undertaking of so stupendous a character.

And now we, thanks to the explorations carried out both by Russians and Englishmen in Asia, know enough of the country dividing India from Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan, to define with sufficient accuracy the route which Mahmud followed in his surprising and unexampled march.

Mahmud led his army, or at any rate a part of it, from Kashmir towards Leh (situated at a height of 11,740 ft.), and Ladak, and so gradually rose to the Shushul and Gardoh passes (13,936 and 14,240, respectively, above sea-level). He then crossed the Himalayan range, either near Dengo (18,230) or near Tinkur (16,200)\* It required an iron will to carry out such a march, and one glance at the map will show that the Hindoos most probably never even suspected the approach of the Mussulman army from such a direction. It was only when that army appeared at the Western frontier of Nepal, that they became aware that the terrible commander had really come with a powerful force to attack the very centre of India. It was now too late, however, for them to do anything in the way of preparations, for Mahmud, with his brilliant cavalry, rushed on Kanoj (in the valley of the Ganges) like a whirlwind, and utterly destroyed that city.

After a three days' occupation of Kanouj, Mahmud of Ghazni advanced on Meerut, distant 55 *versts* (36 $\frac{3}{4}$ ) miles to the north-west of Delhi. Having besieged and captured this town, he sacked it, and then turned south towards Muttra, distant 120 *versts* (80 miles) from Delhi, and the then centre of Hindu culture. *En route* he attacked and took Mavin, a strong fort on the Jumna. After seizing the town of Muttra, and killing the numerous priests and pilgrims there collected, he ordered all the temples to be overthrown, and then laden with unheard of booty, and with a large number of prisoners (both men and women), Mahmud marched leisurely towards his own capital, Ghazni, which became adorned with the finest buildings, and was converted into one of the most important towns in the East. It became, too, the centre of Mussulman poesy and learning.

For three years Mahmud lived in splendour and at ease, but at last he grew tired of this sort of life, and since he had already plundered Northern India, he turned his gaze southwards, for he had gained detailed information regarding the wealth of Gujarat, and of the size of its capital Angalwara (Narwala), and of the existence of its famous altar, Soma. The terrible conqueror accordingly decided upon leading his army in this

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\* We do not know exactly his actual line of advance, for unfortunately we have not been able to make use of the information supplied by Mussulman historians.—*Author*.

direction. This was in the year 1024 A. D., and it marked the 12th and last campaign of Mahmud against India.

Mahmud was aware that this campaign was threatened by many dangers, and that he would have on this occasion to deal with a strong and an implacable foe, also, that his army would have to traverse the fearful desert of Marwar, (the country of death); that he would further have to encounter a sovereign, whose cavalry was cased in mail, and who had powerful elephants at his disposal. He knew that the fame of his enemy was spread abroad throughout India, and that he could place in the field a host, whose numbers rivalled those of Xerxes when that monarch invaded Europe.

But none of this knowledge caused any wavering in his decision, and he never for a moment had any doubts of his success. Such was the strength of Mahmud's will. Accordingly, at the close of the rainy season, Mahmud, at the head of a force of cavalry numbering 80,000 men, mounted on horses selected with special care, set out from Ghazni. He crossed the Sulciman range by the *Gomal* pass, and soon reached the town of Multan, distant from Ghazni 550 *versts* (370 miles.) Here he collected all the provisions and forage necessary for his army; and with a baggage train of 20,000 camels, he marched across the desert in the direction of Ajmeer, the capital of Rajputana, distant from Mooltan 270 *versts* (180 miles).

Ajmeer being taken, and the waterless desert of Marwar having been crossed, Mahmud made his appearance before the famous town of Angalwara-Putun (Narvala), the capital of Goojerat. This town lay equidistant between the Gulf of Cutch and Cambay, and played at this time in India the part of ancient Tyre, for it had trade relations with eighty-two maritime towns of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Angalwara was founded in the year 746 A. D. The luxury and wealth of the place attracted the stern Mahmud, and he at one time thought of making this town the capital of his vast monarchy, but he soon cast away such an idea, and gave the town over to destruction. Fifteen years after its destruction by Mahmud of Ghazni, the town was restored on an even more magnificent scale, but it was finally overthrown by the Muhammadans in the year 1294 A.D.

From the plundering of Angalwara, Mahmud marched towards Puttun-Somnath, or Deve-Puttun, the walls of which town encircled the temple of Soma, one of the most sacred in Hindustan. After obtaining possession during the dead of night of the wall of the sacred portion of the city, he led his army on to the storming of the temple, but a large body of Brahmins and of pilgrims made such a desperate resistance, that the ranks of the Muhammadans wavered.



Mahmud hereupon dismounted from his horse, and kneeling down prayed to God that he would deliver the idols of the unbelievers into his hands. Then he arose, and leading his favourite General by the hand, he called upon his men to follow him. His troops dashed forward, and soon all the idols were broken down. The Indians then turned and fled, and the Brahmins offered a ransom of 100,000,000 *roubles* (£10,000,000),\* but Mahmud refused the same, leaving of the temple not one stone upon another: the idols he sent away to Mecca, Medina, and Ghazni. So terminated one of the most daring undertakings of the conquerors of India. In his return to Ghazni *via* Mooltan, Mahmud lost in the desert of Rajputana fully one-third of his army, owing to privations undergone on the route. At length in the autumn of the year 1026 A. D., he reached Ghazni once again, and so completed the history of his campaigns against Hindustan.

Mahmud has undoubtedly the right to be classed amongst the number of the greatest of military leaders; for in the course of a 34 years' reign, he personally conducted 19 campaigns, and was the victor in 30 engagements and sieges. No climate disconcerted him; no season of the year had any terrors for him, and he bore himself with equal fortitude in the uninhabited plains of Persia, Turan and Scinde, as on the wide and swift rivers of the Panjab, or on the loftiest mountains of the Hindu-Kush and Himalayas, or amidst the everlasting snows of Tibet.

Having made 12 campaigns against India, and having annexed to his dominions Multan, Peshawar and Kashmir, he held in subjection the greater part of the Indian Peninsula. In the interval too, between his Indian campaigns, he and his Generals conducted minor expeditions to the north and west. Thus he despoiled the Uzbek ruler of Kashgar, and seized his country. He subjugated the mountain province of Ghur, likewise a considerable portion of Central Asia, Seistan, Khorassan, Irak, the Southern Caucasus (Georgia,) and the whole of Western Persia, excepting Ispahan, where he placed his own son on the throne. The whole of the intervening countries also came under his dominion, so that his vast empire extended from the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf to Kashgaria and the Ganges.

Mahmud was, moreover, greatly respected amongst Mussulmans, for he seemed to them to be one of the greatest of the apostles of their religion. He was also a wise ruler of his

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\* In the temple there were 66 pillars of wrought gold, connected by a long chain of the same metal. The idols were studded with precious stones, and in boxes there were heaps of diamonds, and a countless quantity of pearls.—*Author.*

own country, and the patron of Mussulman science and literature. He may be regarded as the founder of Afghan power, and of the Muhammadan dominion in Hindustan.

Mahmud died in the year 1030 A. D., in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. Whilst on his death bed, he held a brilliant parade of his ever-victorious army, and there filed past him 100,000 infantry, 50,000 cavalry, and 1,300 elephants. These were his comrades in arms with whom he had shared both joy and sorrow, and from whom he parted with the keenest regret.

Mahmud's campaigns have completely proved the practicability for the passage of a large army of the Gomal pass, which connects Ghazni with Multan (Dera-Ismail-Khan?)

15. *Campaigns of Muhammad of Ghur.* To the surprise of all, there rose up in the middle of the XII century the dynasty of the Ghuride (Guridi.) Ghur or Gur, an ancient province of Khurassan, was conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni in the XI century A. D., and was annexed by him to his Ghazni empire, but he allowed this province to be administered by its own princes acting in his name. The inhabitants of Ghur were considered to be pure Afghans, and from the most ancient times, have been a warlike race, and have had great influence on the country now known as Afghanistan. A little before the XII century a civil war broke out between Ghur and Ghazni, which terminated in favour of Ghur, and in the destruction and plunder of Ghazni. Allah, the founder of the dynasty of the Ghuride, annexed to his dominions Ghazni, a part of India, Balkh, and Herat. He was then attacked by Sindjur, the chief of the Seljukide, and with difficulty saved his life. Allah died in the year 1155 A. D., and his son, who succeeded him on the throne of Ghur, was slain by the Turks. In the year 1186 A. D., Jaiyaz, the nephew of Allah, ascended the throne, and he entrusted to his brother, *Muhammad-Shabab*, the administration of the Indian provinces of the Ghur dynasty.

This Muhammad-Shabab is called in history *Muhammad of Ghur*. He was the direct follower of Mahmud of Ghazni, and the second Muhammadan invader of India.

When Muhammad of Ghur entered upon the administration of the Indian provinces of the Ghur dominions, political matters in that country were complicated in an extraordinary manner. Khuser, of the dynasty of the Ghaznivides, ruled at Lahore. Turks of the Seljukide race poured forth like a great stream from behind the Hindu-Kush, and crossing that range, not by one pass only, but in all probability by several at a time, for they moved with a wide front, they conquered a portion of the Ghazni dominions, and seemed ready to invade the rich plains of India. But unexpectedly they turned westwards,

and by this movement they laid the foundation in Europe of that Eastern Question which is still unsettled.

In the year 1186 A. D., Muhammad of Ghur marched with an army against Khuser, the Ghaznvide ruler of Lahore, to which city he laid siege, having in the meanwhile possessed himself of the Peshawar valley, Multan, and almost all the provinces along the course of the Indus. He twice failed to take Lahore. At length, after the manner of Asiatics, he had recourse to treachery, and so obtained possession of the persons of Khuser and of his family. Having effected this, he mercilessly put them all to death. Thus sadly and fortuitously perished the last member of the famous dynasty of the Ghaznvides, a dynasty which had reigned for 189 years.

The Turks having passed westwards, Jaiyaz speedily re-established order at Ghazni and at Herat, and so founded a new and vast monarchy in Southern Asia.

Muhammad of Ghur may be said to have begun his campaign against India with the treacherous acquisition of Lahore. In the year 1191 A. D., he marched against Ajmere, a town which lies 350 *versts* ( $233\frac{1}{2}$  miles), to the south-west of Delhi. The ruler of both places at this time was the famous *Pitavra* of the princely house of Rajputana, under whose standards was enrolled every brave and renowned person throughout India.

The hostile armies met on the bank of the Sursutai river, at a point 21 *versts* (14 miles,) distant from Tanesur, when a long and bloody battle ensued, which began by the Indians advancing to the attack, and driving the Muhammadans from their position.

Muhammad of Ghur then rode forward and attacked the elephant on which sat Pitavra, who wounded and would have captured his adversary, but for the devotion displayed by Muhammad of Ghur's personal attendants. The Afghan army now fled, and *was pursued by the Indians for a distance of 60 versts (40 miles.)*

Muhammad of Ghur's defeat on this occasion was complete. He remained at Lahore until he had recovered from his wound, and then marched first of all to Ghur, and then to Ghazni, a point which is of the first strategical importance with regard to the valley of the Indus.

Muhammad Ghur remained for three years at Ghazni, and quietly reformed an army. Meanwhile there was raging a fierce civil war between Pitavra, the ruler of Delhi, and Jaihund, the sovereign of Kanouj, who then offered an alliance to Muhammad of Ghur.

Accordingly, in the year 1193 A. D., Muhammad sent to the Punjab a force of 50,000 cavalry, under the command of Kutub, a former slave.

It should here be stated that there were at this time on the Indian peninsula, four vast sovereignties, known respectively as Kanoj, Delhi, Marwar and Gujerat, and of these, the two first were the most powerful. Pitavra, the ruler of Delhi, had subdued to a state of vassalship all the smaller states, to the number of more than a hundred, between the Indus and the Ganges.

Jaihind, too, the sovereign of Kanoj, was possessed of special power, since he could place in the field an army composed of 80,000 mail-clad warriors, 30,000 horsemen with coats of mail, 300,000 foot-soldiers, and also 200,000 men, armed with bows and arrows and pole-axes, besides a large number of elephants. It should be noted that Jaihind had helped Pitavra to gain a victory over the Muhammadans on the occasion of Muhammad of Ghur's defeat.

The deadly strife then which set in between the two most powerful of the Indian potentates, could not but be advantageous to the Muhammadans. The result, therefore, of an alliance between the forces of Muhammad of Ghur and of Jaihind, was the occupation of Delhi by the Muhammadans in the year 1193, A. D., Pitavra meeting with an heroic death in the defence of his kingdom.

In the following year, Muhammad of Ghur resolved to undertake, from Delhi a campaign into the interior of India, and it was then manifest that the three years which he had passed at Ghazni had not been wasted, for he set out at the head of 100,000 excellently equipped cavalry selected from amongst Turks, Persians, and Afghans. "Perhaps," remarks Sullivan,\* "there has never entered into India such a vast *army of mercenaries*; for almost every warlike race of Northern and Central Asia sent its representatives to share in the enormous plunder of India."

We have already said that Muhammad sent Kutub in advance with 50,000 cavalry, and then, as so often happens, an ally was turned into an enemy, for subsequently Muhammad and Kutub joined forces, and marched against their quondam ally, Jaihind of Kanoj, who confronted the Mussalmans with an army of 300,000 men. No less than 150 minor Indian potentates joined this large force, swearing by the water of the sacred Ganges that they would either destroy their enemies, or die and obtain a martyr's crown.

The Mussalmans, though separated from their base by a distance of 1,800 *verssts*† (1,200 miles), were led by the first leader of the

\* *The Conquerors, Warriors and Statesmen of India.* London. 1886.—*Author.*

† According to Sullivan, Muhammed of Ghur's route lay through Peshawur; "he crossed the Indus and marched to Peshawar;" but we are not aware

age, were animated with cool resolution, and felt assured of success even before the fight began.

Muhammad made a *night attack*, which was so impetuous, that the Indian host first wavered, (the rows of elephants being broken through), then got into confusion, and finally fell back in full retreat. A great slaughter now took place, and the proud Jaihind unable to endure his defeat, cast himself into the Ganges, and was engulfed in its sacred waters. The capital of India, the magnificent and ancient city of Kanouj, was now given over to final destruction, for it never again rose from its ruins\* which, however, are still to be seen as a testimony of departed splendour.

In the year 1195 A. D., Muhammad of Ghur took possession of the sacred city of Benares, situated on the Ganges, rather more than 400 *vershs* (266  $\frac{3}{4}$  miles, from Kanoj, so that he was then more than 2 200 *vershs* (1,460 miles) from his own base at Ghazni.

Benares, the most ancient and sacred city of the Hindus, contained at this period the richest temples in the world. It was also a very city of priests, for out of a population of 600,000, 80,000 were Brahmins or priests.

Muhammad met with but feeble opposition here, so he simply occupied and plundered the town, slew the priests, and broke down the temples. In and around Benares the number of temples thus destroyed were computed at a thousand, the amount of booty which they contained being something fabulous.

After this, the stern conqueror set out on his return march to Ghazni, following the route through the Gomal pass. He entered his capital at the head of his victorious army, which was followed by 4,000 camels laden with the plunder of his Indian campaign.

This campaign indisputably belongs to the number of the most remarkable in military history, for it was a cavalry raid in the widest acceptation of the term. One general engagement, which decided the fate of the principal, the most warlike, and the most powerful state in India, *was a night attack of cavalry masses*. Muhammad of Ghur displayed marked military talent, and combined in the highest degree two important qualities in a leader: caution and decision, and we have already said he was a man who was possessed of an iron will.

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on what authority this statement is made, for if Muhammed of Ghur went through the Gomal pass to go to Peshawar, he would not have had to cross the Indus at all. If, on the other hand, he did cross the Indus, then in order to get to Peshawur, he must have re-crossed that river, and in order to reach Lahore from Peshawur, he would have had to cross the river a third time. Again, if he went through Kabul and the Khaibar Pass, he evidently reached Peshawur without crossing the Indus.—*Author*.

\* It will be remembered that the first destruction of Kanouj was 'at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni.—*Author*.

This campaign, moreover, decided a very important question, *i.e.*, the possibility of finding forage in Northern India for 150,000 cavalry horses. There can be no doubt, too, that Muhammad of Ghur returned to Ghazni by the Gomal pass of the Suleiman range, and it was by the same pass, as we already know, that Mahmud of Ghazni went on more than one occasion. Thus it is now manifest that the Gomal pass, which lies between the Khaibar and the Bolan, is practicable at almost every season of the year, not only for small bodies of troops, but to entire armies. for Nadir-Shah, as we shall see further on, kept up the reputation of this pass as a practicable route for troops of all arms.

Muhammad of Ghur reigned for 32 years, during 29 of which, his eldest brother, Tayaz-ul-Din, was the nominal sovereign of his vast empire. His most talented commanders were Kutub and Eldots.

During his reign Muhammad of Ghur carried out *nine campaigns against India*, and from seven of these he returned with an enormous amount of booty. He was killed by the Jâts on the banks of the Nilab, almost on the very spot on which he dedicated Pitavra; and on his death his monarchy was divided amongst his principal commanders. Thus Eldots kept Ghazni and the northern provinces for himself, and Kutub the greater part of India, choosing Lahore as his capital. Another general, named Nadir-Kubashi, took for himself Multan and the Scinde provinces. All three generals had originally been simple slaves of Muhammad of Ghur, and had been advanced to high position by their sovereign through good service and the display of ability. Kutub was the founder in India of the so-called "dynasty of the slaves." The sovereignty of the Pathans or Afghans was now finally established over Hindustan. Muhammadanism gained converts, and appeared as though it would be a powerful social force; but, as we shall see later on, the dynasty of the Afghans in India was at first shaken and then finally overthrown.

16. *Campaign of Chingiz-Khan.*—From the description of the Mongol campaign against India undertaken by Uguz-Khan, we have seen that even in those ancient times the Mongols had an army excellently organised and admirably disciplined. But with the lapse of time they grew weak, so that, during the reign of Il-Khan, the Tatars, their constant rivals, defeated their main army. Subsequently, however, the balance of power again inclined to the side of the Mongols; for in the year 1155, A. D., Chingiz-Khan made his appearance in the world, and his birth had a great influence on the superstitious Mongols.

His father, chief of a Mongol tribe, containing 40 000 families, died when Chingiz-Khan was only 13 years old, and even at that

early age he had to mount a horse and fight for his own rights.\* The struggle lasted for 26 years, but it was a good military training, and instructive in the highest degree to the young soldier, who in the year 1193 A.D. (he being then 39 years of age) gained a decisive victory over his principal enemies;† but it was not till the year 1204 A.D. that he finally established his authority throughout Mongolia. He was at this time 50 years of age, and he had already entered the ranks of great army leaders. The organisation indeed of his army surpassed that of any in either Asia or Europe contemporaneous with his own, and we may here observe that the success of his subsequent campaigns rested on that remarkable army organisation, and on his unusually strict military discipline. The rapidity of his successes amazed the whole world, but his attacks were characterised both by celerity of movement and dash in delivery.

We will not here enter into a detailed description of all the wars waged by Chingiz-Khan, but will open our present account with the events of the year 1220 A.D. when he, with his three generals, Chjebe, Subutai and Tugachar, reached the northern slopes of the Paropamisus, and when his son Tuli appeared at the head of 80,000 cavalry before Merv and Herat. By the summer of the year 1221 A.D., Chingiz-Khan had come into the possession of the whole of the western half of Central Asia, of Persian-Khurasan, including Merv and Herat; whilst the cavalry force which he had despatched under his generals Chjebe and Subutai, had reached the Caspian Sea, and had subdued the frontier provinces of north-western Persia. With Bamian in his possession—Chingiz-Khan was now at the threshold of the gigantic Hindu-Kush range, which is a continuation of the Himalayan chain and is the natural boundary of India, for beyond it natives of India have never endeavoured to pass. Before the Mongols towered mountains rising above the limits of perpetual snow, with passes at an immense height, for, from Bamian towards Kabul, the direct road lies over two passes the Irak and the Unai, of which the first lies at a height of 12,190 feet above sea level, and the second at 11,320 feet. Beside these two passes, however, there are others leading into the Kabul valley more to the east of Bamian, and all of them

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\* The best work about Chingiz-Khan is by Baron D'Osson. It is entitled *Historie des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan-Jusqu'à Timur Beg ou Tamerlane*.—*Author*.

† To those desirous of becoming acquainted with the military organisation of the Mongols, we recommend Mr. M. J. Ivanin's work entitled "The Military Science and Conquests of the Mongol-Tatars and Central Asian peoples in the time of Chingiz-Khan and Tamerlane." St. Petersburg, 1875.—*Author*.

are more or less practicable for troops in their passage from the valley of the Amu-Daria into India.

The great conqueror, in the course of his lengthened military career, had taught his troops to overcome every possible obstacle, so that they easily and rapidly traversed the most terrible wastes, crossed the widest and deepest rivers, and were also accustomed to surmount mountain fastnesses. Assured then of the resolute bravery of his soldiers and of the endurance of their horses, Chingiz-Khan thought nothing of throwing an army across the Hindu-Kush range.

Moreover, he now heard that Jalaluddin, the new Sultan of Kharezm (Khiva) had assembled near Ghazni, a place renowned throughout the east for its strength and riches, an army of 70,000 men. In order, therefore, to watch the movements and operations of Jalaluddin, Chingiz-Khan sent a force of 30,000 men, divided in four detachments, along the roads leading towards Ghazni, Ghur, Zabul and Kabul. But some of these detachments were attacked and cut up by Jalaluddin and his general Khan Malik, whereupon Chingiz-Khan hastily collected a powerful force with which he crossed the Hindu-Kush. Hearing of the rapid advance of the main body of the Mongol army, Jalaluddin decided to clear out of Afghanistan, and to retire towards the Indus. Chingiz-Khan pursued him night and day, and soon reached Ghazni, where he learnt that Jalaluddin had 15 days previously withdrawn in the direction of India. Leaving one of his own officers as Governor of Ghazni, Chingiz-Khan continued to follow up Jalaluddin, making forced marches in order to overtake him. In their march from Ghazni, the Mongols followed the Gomal route over the Suleiman range, and encountered no opposition. On reaching the Indus, Chingiz-Khan received information that Jalaluddin had prepared boats for the passage of the river on the following day, *ms.*, the 21st December 1221 A.D. Accordingly, Chingiz-Khan resolved upon an attack before his enemy could get cross the river. The result of this battle was that Jalaluddin's forces were cut to pieces, but he himself escaped by swimming the river.

But the success which Jalaluddin had gained over the advanced detachments of the Mongols, previous to the passage of their main body across the Hindu-Kush, had roused, throughout Khorassan, strong hopes of release from the rule of the fierce invaders, and at Herat there was open rebellion against them. On receipt of this news, Chingiz-Khan sent for his youngest son Tuli, and reproached him for having spared any of the inhabitants of Herat when he had captured that city. He then despatched his general Ilchikai at the head of 80,000 men, and directed him not to leave one soul in the place alive. These instructions were carried out almost to the letter ; for



after a siege of seven months, Herat was again taken by the Mongols on the 14th (26th) June 1222 A. D., and the slaughter of its inhabitants went on for a whole week, only 15 men escaping. Having carried out the orders given to him, Ilchikai marched to rejoin the main body of the Mongol army under Chingiz-Khan. For the pursuit of Jalaluddin, Chingiz-Khan sent off two cavalry detachments under his generals Bela and Turtai, but they could find no traces of the fugitive, and having taken the fort of Biah, they proceeded to Multan. Finding that their detachments were not strong enough to capture this town, they devastated the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Feozepore and Malikpur, and then marched to rejoin the head-quarters of Chingiz-Khan. Meanwhile Chingiz-Khan had, during the spring of the year 1222 A.D., proceeded up the right bank of the Indus after despatching his son Okedai to destroy Ghazni.

After destroying Ghazni, Okedai asked his father's permission to go and besiege the capital of Sristan, but he was ordered to return to head quarters because the fierce heat of summer was now setting in. Chingiz-Khan's main body passed the summer of 1222 A. D., at Bernan, where he waited the return of his generals Bela and Turtai. On their rejoining him, he moved forward, and was met near fort Gunal-Gurgan by his son Okedai. The Mongol army went into winter quarters in the mountain province of Buiya-Katvar, near the sources of the Indus, but here an epidemic broke out amongst his troops, and, when this had died out, Chingiz-Khan moved in the spring of 1223 A. D., with the intention of marching through Tibet into Mongolia, but his progress was checked after the lapse of some days, for it was proved that the vast country through which he wished to pass was a series of the highest mountains and the densest forests. We should here remark that Chingiz-Khan was at this time 68 years old, and though he may be said to have lived on horse-back for a period of 55 years, and was accustomed to endure all the labours and privations of war, still time claimed its own even in his case. Being checked in his advance through Tibet, he ordered his army to march towards Peshawar, and in all probability the route then taken was by the valley of the Kabul river. Subsequently he went into summer quarters in the province of Balakan where he left his impedimenta. In the autumn of the year 1223 A. D., Chingiz-Khan passed through Balkh. Here, after destroying the town, he ordered its inhabitants to be put to death. His Indian campaign may be said to have been finished here, for after various wanderings in Central Asia, he returned in the autumn or winter of the year 1224 A. D., to his own country Mongolia. At a place called Buka-Sutchill he gave a grand feast to his victorious army, and in February

of the following year, he withdrew to his own *ulus*, or group of nomad tents.

The campaigns of Chingiz-Khan and of his generals present a striking picture of rapid raids carried out in various directions. They were indeed a series of tempests, of which history gives no other examples. The rapidity of the movement of the Mongol cavalry produced a state of alarm not only upon those who had to face such rushes, but on the most distant countries. The Byzantine Empire trembled through fear, Russia herself was subjected to the terrible inroads of the Mongols, who left deep traces on her population—traces which prepared the way for her subjugation by Bati the grandson of Chingiz-Khan.

The Indian campaign of Chingiz-Khan is especially remarkable for the rapidity with which it was undertaken. Thus, setting out from Mongolia in the autumn of the year 1218, A. D., by the end of the year 1221 A. D., Chingiz-Khan stood as a conqueror on the banks of the Indus. This means that in a little over three years' time, his main body marched not less than 5,000 versts (3,333 miles) during which we know that for several months of each year, the troops were detained *en route* through being sent to occupy forts and other causes. Moreover, during the same period, the detachments sent out under the sons or generals of Chingiz-Khan, traversed more than 8,000 versts (5,333 miles). The campaigns of Chingiz-Khan have also taught us how much may be done with cavalry mounted on small horses, taught, as Mongol horses are taught, to endure long and rapid marches with under-foot pasturage only for food, until such time as the summer heat enables them to be turned out to graze on the rich grazing grounds of a mountainous country.

Russia now occupies a considerable part of the empire over which Chingiz-Khan once held sway, and she also possesses tens of millions of horses of the same breed as those which were in Chingiz-Khan's army. It seems to us, then, mete that we should turn our full attention to, instead of disregarding, this inexhaustible supply of military wealth, especially in view of possible complications along our vast Asian frontiers. History always furnishes good examples, and very often even definitely indicates what is needful and what is useful for us to do. Who knows what may happen in the future in Asia or in Europe? In the event of a war with China, we could utilise the Mongols and their horses, and carry terror and alarm into the heart of the Celestial Empire. But at the same time it should not be forgotten that China is a colossal empire thickly populated and fertile, and that when this empire awakes from the sleep of centuries and adopts European culture, it will prove a terrible neighbour to our Asiatic possessions.

Who knows, too, what events may be accomplished in Asia? for if our rival does not cease her intrigues in Central Asia, we must show her that we clearly understand the power which we possess on the steppes of Asia. There does not exist a doubt that there never has been a more brilliant force of cavalry than that which Chingiz-Khan knew so well how to use. And yet the spirit which imbued those troopers still exists in the hearts of our own Cossacks. On our Central Asian steppes, too, from Lake Baikal to the Caspian Sea, we have horses of almost identically the same stamp; animals distinguishable by their small size, and accustomed to scanty herbage, and yet capable of great endurance and fit to undergo long marches.

17. *Campaigns against India undertaken by the Mongols after the death of Chingiz-Khan.* The Mongols after conquering the greater number of the states of Asia, left in them strong bodies of their troops. In some instances the soldiers so left became absorbed in the population of the particular country, for they had with them their families, and intermarried also with the people of the land. It is a true statement then, that the campaigns of Chingiz-Khan were not ordinary wars, so much as a migration of Mongol Tartars and other races, who left after them deep traces; for even at the present day, after the lapse of more than five-and-a-half centuries, we find in various parts of Asia, Europe, and beyond the limits of Mongolia and of Tartary, whole provinces peopled by descendants of Chingiz-Khan's armed bands.

After the death of Chingiz-Khan the Mongols continued the work which he had begun, so that India was subjected to fresh Mongol inroads of which unfortunately we have not now any exact or minute accounts. We know, however, that Turmen-shir-Khan, a Mongol leader in the year 1240 A. D., conquered the greater part of the North-West of India, and that his troops swam across the river Jhelum, after which they appeared before Muttra, on the river Jumna, and then reached the basin of the Ganges. We know, too, that in the year 1245 A. D., the Mongols advanced through Tibet and across the gigantic Himalayan range into the north-east corner of Bengal, and that almost up to the beginning of the nineteenth century they invaded the Punjab by way of Afghanistan.

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*(To be continued.)*

W. E. GOWAN, *Lt.-Col.*

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## ART. VIII.—COMPARATIVE PENAL LAW.—II.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," July 1887, page 194.)

IN the last number of this Review I stated that it was my object, in these articles on "Comparative Penal Law," merely to seize and discuss salient features of contrast, and in particular to point out in what respects the English differs from the Indian law, which appears to be more in accord with the most advanced doctrines of modern criminalists, and in what points either or both may, with advantage to the community, be amended or ameliorated. Keeping this object in view, it is evident that my treatment of the subject must perforce be somewhat desultory. The subject of criminal liability may be completed with some notice of the provisions of different Codes concerning age.

### Age.

In France and Belgium\*, if the accused is under 16 years of age, and has acted with discernment, the punishment is reduced according to a scale laid down, but an order for police supervision may be passed in the same way as if he were above 16. If he has acted without discernment, he must be acquitted, but may either, according to circumstances, be made over to his parents, or placed in a reformatory (*maison de correction*) till his twentieth year. A sentence of deportation or hard labour cannot be passed against any one who has completed his seventieth year. The old Prussian Code† also only dealt with the two periods, below sixteen and above sixteen.

The German‡ Code takes the ages of twelve and eighteen; there can be no criminal prosecution for an offence committed before the twelfth year, but the accused may be submitted to measures of correction and supervision. Between twelve and eighteen the question of discernment (the "sufficient maturity of understanding" of the Penal Code) arises; if acquitted, owing to want of discernment, the accused may be kept till his twentieth year in a correctional or educational establishment. If convicted, he is liable to a reduced scale of punishment. The Dutch§ Code takes the ages of ten and sixteen; the Hungarian|| Code twelve and sixteen; the Danish¶ Code ten, fifteen, and eighteen.

\* Fr. P. C. 66 70; Belg. P. C. 72 74.

† Pruss. Code 42.

‡ Germ. P. C., 55-57.

§ Dutch P. C., 38, 39.

|| Hung. P. C., 83-87.

¶ Den. P. C., 35 37.

Under ten or twelve there can be no prosecution ; but in Denmark the State may take measures of correction and safety, and in Holland if the offence committed be punishable with imprisonment, or if it be the contravention of begging, the child may be placed in a State school till the age of eighteen. Between ten and sixteen, if the act be committed with discernment, the punishment is diminished by one-third. So in Hungary, there is a reduced scale of punishment, and it is enacted in Art. 87 of the Code, that no one under twenty can be condemned to death or to perpetual imprisonment. In Denmark, discernment is presumed from fifteen, but from that age to eighteen punishments are reduced by one-half. Between ten and fifteen, a maximum sentence of two years may be imposed (*a*) where the offence committed is murder, grievous hurt, theft, or arson ; and (*b*) where the act committed entails a more severe punishment than fine or simple imprisonment, and the circumstances disclose maturity of understanding. The French and Italian Codes differ from the other Codes in not fixing any age below which there shall not be a criminal prosecution ; but in Italy \* if a minor of fourteen years or less has acted without discernment, he is not liable to punishment. He may, however, be confined in a public workshop, or security may be taken from his parents to bring him up properly. In the State of Louisiana, † the age of conclusive non-liability is nine, and the period of conditional liability (that is, conditional on maturity of understanding) from nine to fifteen. The provisions in the Chinese Penal Code ‡ are somewhat peculiar and worthy of notice. Offenders under fifteen or over seventy, or who are disabled by the loss of an eye or a limb, may redeem any punishment (other than capital) by the payment of an established fine. If under ten or over eighty years, or totally disabled by the loss of both eyes or two limbs, offenders even in capital cases (except treason) are recommended to the particular consideration and decision of his Imperial Majesty. Offenders under seven or over ninety shall not suffer punishment in any case, except treason or rebellion. The idea of a child under seven being guilty of treason is absurd to occidental ideas ; but in the Orient *malitia supplet aetatem*, and there have been some truly remarkable cases in India of precocious development of intelligence. A case is reported in the Weekly Reporter, § in which a girl aged ten, killed her husband while he was asleep, by chopping off his head with a *dao*. Blackstone mentions some singular cases in England. A girl of thirteen was burnt for killing her mistress : two boys of nine and ten, respectively, killed their

\* Ital. P. C., 88.

† Lou. P. C., 29.

‡ China P. C., 22.

§ 1 W. R. Cr 43.

companions, and were sentenced to death, the boy of ten being actually hanged. A boy of eight years old was tried at Abingdon for firing two barns; and it appearing that he had malice, revenge and cunning, he was found guilty, condemned, and hanged accordingly. Thus, also, in very modern times, a boy of ten years old was convicted on his own confession of murdering his bed-fellow, there appearing, in his whole behaviour, plain tokens of a mischievous discretion; and as the sparing of this boy merely on account of his tender years might be of dangerous consequence to the public by propagating a notion that children might commit such atrocious crimes with impunity, it was unanimously agreed by all the judges that he was a proper subject of capital punishment.\* In Alabama,† a negro slave boy, between ten and eleven years old, was convicted of the murder of his master's child.

The Russian‡ law on this subject seems to be more minute than any other law. M. Albert Du Boys, in a short essay on the actual state of the criminal law in Russia, remarks (writing in 1874) that "for the past few years Russia has presented the singular example of a country, which reforms its judicial institutions in a liberal manner before reforming its political institutions from the same point of view." The provisions regarding age in the Penal Code are as follows:—Children under seven, who commit offences, are not punishable; but they are restored to their parents, guardians, or near relatives, in order to be instructed by them regarding the penalty of their acts; from seven to ten, they are not punishable under the Code, but are so restored with a view to domestic correction; similarly, from ten to fourteen, if the Court finds that they have acted without discernment; from fourteen to seventeen, if the Court finds they have acted without *complete* discernment, they are subject to a reduced scale of punishment; from fourteen to twenty-one, offences committed by negligence only entail a domestic correction by parents or guardians; a second offence does away with any privilege. The Russian system may then be summed up as follows: up to seven, no offence or punishment; from seven to ten, no public punishment, but merely domestic correction; from ten to fourteen, the same, if no discernment; otherwise, punishment on a very reduced scale; from fourteen to twenty-one, punishment on a reduced scale, with power to the Court to send the offender, if under seventeen, to an asylum of correction for some months; in case of recidivism, suppression of all privileges accorded to age.

\* 4 Bl. Com 23, 24

† *Godfrey vs. The State*, 31 Ala. 323.

‡ Russian P. C., 94, 137—146.

It remains to consider whether the laws of other countries suggest any defects in the English or Indian law, or any points in which they are susceptible of amelioration. What strikes one at once is that in England certainly, and perhaps also in India, the age of non-criminality, or more strictly of non-liability to criminal prosecution, should be raised. Section 82 of the Indian Penal Code enacts that "nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age;" Section 83 enacts that "nothing is an offence which is done by a child above seven years of age and under twelve, who has not attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge of the nature and consequences of his conduct on that occasion."

Substituting fourteen for twelve, the law is the same in England,\* except that a child between seven and fourteen in England, is presumed to be *doli incapax*, whereas a child between seven and twelve in India is presumed to be *doli capax*. I am inclined to think the age of exemption from criminal prosecution should be raised in India to nine, and in England to eleven. It has been seen that the age in Continental countries varies from ten to twelve; while the absence of a minimum limit in France leaves too much to the varying discretion of different Magistrates. But, of course, it may be necessary to empower the administrative authorities to take such measures, in any particular case, as may be necessary for the public safety. It is hardly seemly to bring a child under ten years of age as an accused before a Criminal Court.

Then the limit of what may be called the conditional period should be raised in India from twelve to fourteen, and in England from fourteen to sixteen. The severity and even cruelty of ancient criminal law should be borne in mind; the common law, as expounded by Hale, Hawkins, and Coke, may have been the "perfection of reason" at the time they wrote, but is it not a trifle obsolete and antiquated in this penultimate decade of the 19th century? And, indeed, it has in many respects been abandoned. Offenders under sixteen, may now in certain cases† be sent to reformatory schools for a period of from two to five years. Again, the unsuitability of the common law on the subject has necessitated special legislation concerning youthful offenders. Under the summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, a *child* is defined to be a person who, in the opinion of the Court before whom he is brought, is under

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\* In England there is a third period from 14 to 21, *quoad* offences which consist of mere non-feasance; as, for example, negligently permitting felons to escape; not repairing highways, &c. Blackstone gives us a reason for the exemption that, not having the command of his fortune till 21, the person wants the capacity to do those things which the law requires. 4 Bl., 22.      † 29 and 30 Vict., c. 117, s. 14.



the age of twelve years; a *young person* is one who, in the opinion of the Court, is over twelve and under sixteen years of age; an *adult* is one who, in the opinion of the Court, is over sixteen years of age. A child, charged with any indictable offence other than homicide, may, if the parent consents, be tried summarily, and sentenced to imprisonment not exceeding one month, or a fine not exceeding forty shillings, and (if a male) to whipping in addition or substitution. Certain offences\* by young persons may, if they consent, and the Court considers it expedient, be dealt with summarily, and the offender may be imprisoned for three months, or fined up to £10, and (if a male under fourteen) may be whipped in addition or substitution. In India also reformatory schools have been established. As Bishop remarks:—"Although we may well suppose there are instances in which a child under fourteen should be punished by the tribunals as criminal, clearly the age of seven years, as the age of possible capacity, is much too young for punishment to be given by the hand of the law; though it should be given at the hand of the parent, and the latter, rather than the former, be made to suffer the consequences of its neglect," In Texas the age-periods corresponding to those of English law (namely, seven and fourteen) are by Statute nine and thirteen; and in Illinois, ten and fourteen. In Texas, the death-penalty cannot be inflicted on an infant below seventeen.

It appears advisable, then, both in England and India, to raise both the absolute and the conditional limits of age; and some age should be fixed, below which the penalty of death should not be inflicted.

#### *Right of Private Defence against Acts of Public Servants.*

In India† there is no right of private defence against an act which does not reasonably cause the apprehension of death or of grievous hurt, if done, or attempted to be done, by a public servant (or by the direction of a public servant) *in good faith* under colour of his office, *though that act may not be strictly justifiable by law*. Moreover, s. 79 in the chapter of General Exceptions, enacts that "nothing is an offence which is done, by any person who is justified by law, or who by reason of a mistake of fact, and not by reason of a mistake of law, in good faith believes himself to be justified by law in doing it." These two sections are instances, among others, which go to show

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\* These offences are certain sorts of larceny and embezzlement, receiving stolen goods, offences with intent to endanger the safety of persons upon railways, and offences under the Post Office laws.

† Sec. 99, P. C.

that there is in India more of what is known on the Continent as *droit administratif* than there is in England. The words I have italicised above cut the Gordian knot of many difficulties, and protect public servants in India to a far greater extent than is the case in England. In England, if a public servant is in fact acting illegally; if an arrest happens to be illegal, owing to some technical flaw in the warrant, the right of private defence is the same as it would be against the act of a private person, being defence against unlawful violence. The unreasonable character of the law consists in the fact, that the person who resists or uses violence cannot, in all cases, know at the time that the act of the public officer is unjustifiable, or otherwise illegal, so as to give a right of private defence. The Indian law resembles the law in France. It has been ruled by the Court of Cassation,\* that "the offence of assaulting or resisting public officers (s. 209 of the French Code Pénal) does not depend on the greater or less regularity with which those officers have proceeded. Private persons have no right to constitute themselves judges of public officers; the irregularity of the act can only be a ground for a civil action or a prosecution against its authors." The Dutch Penal Code (art. 43) declares that he who commits an act in execution of an official order given by an authority *not competent* to give it, is nevertheless not punishable, provided he believed in good faith that the authority was competent, and that it was his duty as a subordinate to obey the order. This appears to be reasonable. If the subordinate acts in good faith, it appears to be monstrous that he should thereby subject himself to punishment. A Mr. Chaster has lately written a book on the powers of executive officers, in which he displays a most tender solicitude for the liberty of the British public against the acts of sheriffs, police officers, and others, and, as it seems to me, evinces an altogether needless alarm lest these latter may exceed their powers or be given larger powers. Mr. Chaster might be induced to modify his opinions, if he were to accept for six months the office of sheriff or constable of a county. What strikes an ordinary law-abiding subject in England is, that policemen are perhaps more open to blame for refusing to act, in cases where they would be clearly justified in doing so, than for any excessive readiness to take action. No doubt the fear of civil actions is wholesome, and acts as a strong deterrent; but if these actions were tried by judges, and not by juries, there would be more uniformity in the verdicts given, and therefore more certainty as to probable results. At present the element of uncertainty as to what view

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\* Cass. 22nd Aug. 1867; 15th July 1826; 26th Feb. 1829.

a jury may take of the facts is, I venture to think, prejudicial to the due and fearless execution of the law. At present we have a little too much of a good thing—allowing the liability to civil actions to be a good thing—and the benefit that would result\* from having only just enough is counterbalanced by other evils. The sympathy of a jury is with the outraged or injured British subject, whose liberty is in danger, and against the presumably unfeeling and brutal official; and the same may be said, but of course to a much smaller extent, of the English Bench, recruited as it is from the Bar, and not being merely a separate and regular branch of the Government service as it is in France and India. Moreover, in France and other continental countries, where there is a regular *droit administratif*, these prosecutions and actions against officials are tried in “administrative” courts, as opposed to the ordinary judicial courts. More consideration should be shown in England to the fact of good faith, and, for the purpose of actions for malicious arrest and prosecution, the Legislature should endeavour to define, in a manner more favourable to executive officers and their acts, the words “reasonable and probable cause.” Foster mentions a case, which sufficiently illustrates and points my argument. A constable of a certain London parish arrested a woman in another parish at Covent Garden, which he had no authority to do. Certain bystanders, utter strangers to the woman, attempted to rescue her, and the constable’s assistant was killed by them. Seven judges against five held that this was not murder, for there was sufficient provocation to reduce the offence to manslaughter. Lord Holt, the leader of the majority of the judges, was carried away by a fine enthusiasm, and said: “If one be imprisoned upon unlawful authority, it is a sufficient provocation to all people out of compassion, *much more (!) when it is done under colour of justice*, and when the liberty of the subject is invaded. It is a provocation to all the subjects of England; *a man ought to be concerned for Magna Charta* and the laws; and if any officer against law imprison a man, he is an offender against Magna Charta.”\* The absurdity of this reasoning lay in the fact that the by-standers did not know whether the constable was or not justified in arresting. Many years later Sir M. Foster ridiculed this decision; and, indeed, the clap-trap flourish about Magna Charta appears to be thoroughly deserving of ridicule. “The prisoners,” says Foster,\* “saw a woman, a perfect stranger to them, led to the Round House under a charge of a criminal nature. This, upon evidence at the Old Bailey a month or two afterwards, cometh out to be illegal imprisonment; a

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\* Fost. Cr. C., 316.

violation of Magna Charta! And these ruffians are presumed to have been seized all on a sudden with a strong fit of zeal for Magna Charta, and in this frenzy to have drawn on the constable and stabbed his assistant." In England killing officers or others engaged in effecting the ends of justice is murder only if the officer or other person is acting with due legal authority, and executing such authority in a legal manner, and if the defendant knows of such authority; if any of these requisites is absent, the offence is reduced to manslaughter. "Thus," says Broom, "the guilt of the offender may depend entirely upon nice and difficult questions belonging to the civil branch of the law, such as the technical regularity of civil process, or the precise duty of a minister of justice in its execution."

There is another matter in which the English and Indian law present a striking difference; I mean, in respect of the protection accorded to acts done in the dispersion of riots or unlawful assemblies. In India, soldiers obeying their superior officers, are expressly protected against penal consequences: this is not so in England. Again, all persons concerned are protected by the following provision of the law: "No prosecution against any Magistrate, Military officer, Police-officer, soldier or Volunteer for any act purporting to be done under this chapter, shall be instituted in any Criminal Court, except with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council; and (a) no Magistrate or Police-Officer acting under this chapter in good faith, (b) no officer acting under sec. 131 in good faith, (c) no person doing any act in good faith in compliance with a requisition under section 128 or 129, and (d) no inferior officer, or soldier, or volunteer, doing any act in obedience to any order which, under military law he was bound to obey, shall be deemed to have thereby committed any offence."\* The exemption from prosecution, except with the sanction of Government, is a bit of "administrative law." This section extends the scope of the chapter on General Exceptions in the Penal Code, which enumerates the various grounds of exemption from criminal liability. In England a soldier obeys an illegal order at his own risk, though, if the order be not obviously improper or contrary to law, a plea of obedience to the specific command of a superior officer would probably lead to acquittal on a criminal charge. Again, in India, † if an action or prosecution is brought against a police-officer for any act done by him in such capacity, proof of a plea that he was acting under the warrant of a Magistrate *shall* entitle him

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\* C. P. C., 132.  
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† Act V. 1861, s. 42.

to a decree in his favour, notwithstanding any defect of jurisdiction in such Magistrate. In England the law is not so favourable to subordinate officers, though there are rules, as in India, prescribing a limitation for such actions.

### SUBSTANTIVE OFFENCES.

#### *False Evidence.*

In England it is necessary that the false statement should be *material* to the question in issue. The law in this respect does not appear to be so reasonable as that of India and some other countries. No doubt it would serve no good end to punish a witness for giving a false answer to a question altogether immaterial and impertinent to the issue. But the fact that a question is asked, generally shows that it is, at any rate, considered to be material, and if an answer is compelled, the witness should not be allowed to entertain an impression that he is at liberty in any case to give an answer which is not true, and which possibly may mislead the Court or influence its opinion. The immateriality of the statement is doubtless a ground for reduction of punishment; but it would be dangerous to lay down any hard and fast rule that the statement must be material, for the simple reason that it is extremely difficult to say beforehand what may or may not turn out to be material, and the witness cannot be permitted to constitute himself an arbiter on this point. Sir James Stephen\* appears to think that the rule of materiality is based on a misapprehension, and that its authority is founded on cases in which the witness misunderstood the gist of the question, and was so rather mistaken than perjured. "If this were so," says he, "the inference drawn from the cases ought to be, not that the circumstances must be material, but that the witness must understand that the Court requires him to answer specifically upon these points. It is obviously a very different thing to give an answer circumstantially incorrect under a misapprehension of the point of the question asked, and wilfully to swear falsely on some circumstance collateral to the principal points at issue. It clearly ought to be the duty of the witness to give true answers to every question asked by the Court. To allow him to answer immaterial questions falsely, is to extend an arbitrary impunity to a certain number of perjuries, for *it cannot be supposed that any witness knows at the time of swearing, whether the question which he answers is material or not.*" In India, a very common form of perjury is for a witness to deny relationship or caste-fellowship with one of the suitors or parties or other witnesses, the obvious object being

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\* General view, Cr. Law, (1863,) 279.

to show that he is disinterested. Such denials are sometimes made very stupidly, as they are easily capable of disproof. A statement, which is intended to make the Court place a greater credence in the evidence of a witness than it might otherwise do, is obviously deserving of punishment. Whether such a statement would or would not amount to perjury in England, it is one for which I believe a prosecution would never, as a matter of fact, be instituted. The law in America on this point is very clear; swearing to a false statement is not perjury unless the matter is material to the issue, question, or purpose about or for which the statement is made, or unless it is intended and calculated to give probability to a material statement, or *credibility to the affiant*. The doubtful wisdom of the English rule is evident from the remarks of Erle, C. J. in the case of *R. v. Mullany*:\* “Whenever the question arises whether a person may not be guilty of perjury who, with intent to mislead the Court, wilfully swears falsely on a matter which, in the opinion of the judge, is of doubtful admissibility, or immaterial to the inquiry, it will be one *well worthy of the careful consideration of all the judges.*”

There are one or two other points, in connection with the offence of perjury, which arise for consideration. Perjury in English law is an assertion (1) upon an oath, duly administered (2) in a judicial proceeding, (3) before a competent Court, of the truth, &c. As regards the first point, it appears to be necessary in England to prove that the oath was actually and duly administered. In India it is the object of the law to eliminate all possibility of failures of justice from technical omissions and irregularities, and Section 13 of Act X of 1873 (the Indian Oaths Act) enacts that an omission to give an oath does not invalidate proceedings, and it has been ruled † that the word ‘omission,’ includes any omission, and is not limited to accidental or negligent omission.‡ In India, then, an omission to put the oath does not prevent a prosecution for false evidence. Art. 153 of the New York Penal Code enacts that, “it is no defence to a prosecution for perjury, that the oath was administered or taken in an irregular manner (inadvertently

\* 34 L. J. (M. C.) 111.

† 13 W. R. Cr. 31; 14 B. L. R., 294 and 295, *note*.

‡ Some hillmen or jungle witnesses are so stupid, that the greatest difficulty is experienced in making them repeat the form of oath. Again, the Court might intentionally omit to give the oath in the case of a young child; it is not so easy for a Christian Judge to explain the nature or sanctity of an oath to a Hindu or Mahomedan child. Sec. 118 of the Indian Evidence Act enacts, that all persons are competent to testify, unless prevented from understanding the questions put to them, or from giving rational answers to those questions, by tender years, extreme old age, disease of body or mind, or any other cause of the same kind.

or intentionally, as where a witness kisses his thumb instead of the book.)”

As regards the proceeding in which the oath is taken, the punishment, under the Indian Penal Code, for false evidence in a judicial proceeding, is the same as in England, but false evidence in any other case \* is also made punishable with three years' imprisonment. In this, as in other cases, the Indian and English legislatures leave an extremely wide discretion to the Courts as to the amount of punishment to be inflicted; still, the Indian Code differentiates the maximum punishments according to the heinousness of the offence, though not so elaborately as some of the Continental Codes. In India the punishment is enhanced, according to the gravity of the offence charged, when the false evidence is given by a witness with the object of procuring the conviction of the accused. Some of the Continental Codes draw a distinction between criminal and civil matters, and cases in which the subject of the charge is merely a police contravention; in this last case a year's imprisonment is generally the maximum. Art. 216 of the Hungarian Penal Code makes the maximum punishment a year, and a fine of 400 florins, when the money value of the civil suit does not exceed 100 florins. The breaking of professional and official oaths by experts, translators, interpreters, &c., is also made punishable, though this does not amount to perjury in England.† The above variations of the maximum punishment according to the nature of the proceeding in which, or the object with which, the offence is committed, appear to be reasonable; but even if such an amendment in the law be not urgently called for, it must be admitted by all that the English law is defective in not imposing a more severe punishment in cases where false evidence is given against a man accused of a capital offence. Section 194‡ of the Penal Code allows in such a case the

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\* e.g. before a Collector in a land acquisition proceeding, or certain other revenue matters. A false statement to a Police Officer investigating a case is false evidence under Sec. 191, Penal Code, read with Sec. 161, Criminal Procedure Code, which authorizes certain Police Officers to examine any person orally, and obliges such person to answer truly all questions put to him relating to the case. The Police Officer is not allowed to administer any oath.

† Certain false oaths, though not taken in a judicial proceeding, are in England punishable as misdemeanours, but not as perjury; for instance, the oath required to be taken before a Surrogate in order to obtain a marriage licence. *R. v. Foster*, R. and R. 459.

‡ Sec. 195 enacts that a person who gives false evidence, knowing it to be likely that he will cause any person to be convicted of an offence, not capital, but punishable with transportation for life or imprisonment for seven years or upwards, shall be punished as a person convicted of that offence would be liable to be punished.

punishment of transportation for life, or imprisonment for ten years: and the second clause of the section adds, that "if an innocent person be convicted and executed in consequence of such false evidence, the person who gives such false evidence shall be punished *either with death* or the punishment herein-before described." Continental legislators generally draw the line at death, imposing a maximum of from ten to twenty years' imprisonment. It has been doubted in England whether this judicial murder should not be punished with death; at least, it ought to be punished with a heavier sentence, than ordinary perjury. By the ancient law of England,\* it used to be punished with death. Foster was of opinion that the offence should only be cognizable *in foro calli*. But Paterson justly remarks that there is no reason why it should not be murder, if the death is shewn clearly to be a consequence of the false swearing. Murder by poisoning at first differed little in the kind and cogency of its evidence from murder by words and speeches; and the operation of poisons was long equally mysterious and inscrutable, till chemical science and *post-mortem* examinations reduced it to rules and observations easily followed and traced out.

The English law requires that the false evidence shall have been given before a competent Court, that is, a Court competent to try or take cognizance of the matter before it. Some Indian rulings have, in this respect, followed the English law, but I venture to think, with some want of discrimination. The gist of the offence of perjury is, that the witness *intends* to make a statement which he knows to be false; his offence is not in any way removed or lessened by the fact that it may subsequently turn out that the Court was not competent to try the case.† But the Indian rulings, as not infrequently happens, actually narrow the English law, while professing to follow

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\* Mirror, c. 1, s. 9; Brit. c. 52; Bract lib. iii, c. 4; 1 Hawk, P. C., c. 31, s. 7; 3 Inst., 91, 224.

† This may possibly be more self-evident to Indian than to English lawyers. A witness gives false evidence for the defence in a case of robbery (s. 392, Penal Code) disposed of by a first-class Magistrate, who has power to try the offence of robbery. An appeal is preferred to the Sessions Judge, who, on the evidence is of opinion that more than five persons were engaged in the robbery, and that, therefore, the facts constitute dacoity (s. 395, P. C., an offence exclusively triable by the Court of Session), and he sends back the case to the Magistrate with directions to commit it. Again, a second-class Magistrate convicts some offenders of "rioting;" the District Magistrate, to whom the appeal lies, thinks that the offence really committed was "rioting armed with a deadly weapon" (not triable by a second-class Magistrate). He therefore quashes the conviction, and sends the case for re-trial by a first-class Magistrate. May not evidence, given in the first two trials respectively, be false evidence? Common sense can give but one answer.



it. The Madras and Allahabad \* High Courts have upset convictions for false evidence on the ground of irregularities in the institution of the proceedings. These decisions appear to have overlooked certain English cases,† in which it is decided that, when false evidence is actually given on oath in a Court of law, the offence is complete, notwithstanding any error, such as, for instance, irregularity in the institution of the proceedings. In one case a conviction was upset on the ground of want of sanction for the prosecution, though a virtual sanction had been given.‡

### *False Certificates.*

This subject may be considered as a corollary to the subject of false evidence. There are many sorts of false certificates which are punishable under Continental Codes, but are not penal either in England or India. Sec. 197 of the Indian Penal Code enacts, that "whoever issues or signs any certificate *required by law* to be given or signed, or relating to any fact of which such certificate is by law *admissible in evidence*, knowing or believing that such certificate is false in any material point, shall be punished in the same manner as if he gave false evidence." A false certificate, stating that an accused was suffering from fever and could not attend the Court, would not be punishable, nor would there be any criminal remedy against a person giving a bad servant a false certificate that he was a good servant§. The French Penal Code|| contains special penalties against those who, to favour anyone, falsely certify to illness or infirmities incapacitating

\* I. L. R., 6 All., 103; 5 All., 17; 6 Mad. 252.

† See, for instance, *R. v. Barry*, 8 Cox, C. C. 121.

‡ This decision is contrary to much case-law on the same point, and the matter is actually concluded by the plain words of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Sec. 537. This section does not leave much scope for "apices juris." Sec. 195 refers to the sanction which is required for prosecution for certain offences against public justice. When a Deputy Magistrate sends a witness before his official superior, the District Magistrate, because the witness appears to have given false evidence, he not only virtually sanctions a prosecution, but he actually institutes one, as by law he is empowered to do (s. 476, C. P. C.) The second clause of Sec. 487, C. P. C., empowers him to commit the case direct to the Court of Session. Where a Magistrate, before whom a witness had given false evidence, commits him for trial, it was held by the Bombay High Court (8 Bom. H. C., 54) that his sanction must be implied.

§ There are certainly no clear and direct provisions covering such cases. It is possible that the certificate in the first case might be punishable as an abetment of an offence under Sec. 182, P. C. (false information to a public servant), and the second as abetment of cheating. But the interpretations would, I think, be somewhat far-fetched.

|| Fr. P. C., 159-162.

for any public service, or who fabricate false certificates of good conduct, of poverty, or of circumstances intended to procure any one's situation, credit, or help. Section 162 of that Code punishes false certificates or all sorts from which damage may possibly result to a third person or to the public. In Italy,\* doctors, surgeons, and health officers who, from favour, give a false certificate of illness so as to free any one from a public duty, are punishable with a fine of from 100 to 1,000 francs. If they have received gifts or promises as an inducement to do so, they are further punishable with not less than six months' imprisonment, and those who give, or promise, are liable to the same punishment. Bengal now swarms with native medical practitioners of sorts, some of whom have absolutely no qualifications; and certificates from such men that an accused person or a witness is too ill to attend court are frequently produced before Magistrates.† If false certificates of this sort were punishable, they would not be so readily forthcoming.

The law on this subject in Holland‡ is very comprehensive. A doctor who intentionally gives a false certificate of the existence or non-existence, present or past, of a malady, illness, or infirmity, is punishable with three years' imprisonment; if the certificate is given with the intention of causing some person to be admitted into a lunatic asylum, the punishment is seven years. The person who uses the false certificate as true is also punishable. Art. 230 enacts that he who fabricates or falsifies a certificate of good conduct, of capacity, of poverty, or other circumstances, with intent to use it, or that it may be used in order to obtain a situation, or to excite benevolence and obtain alms, is punishable with a year's imprisonment. In Hungary§ a doctor who gives a false certificate to a public authority or to an Insurance Company, is punishable with a year's imprisonment; and a man who, though not really a doctor, gives a certificate as if he were one, is punishable in the same way. Those who knowingly make use of such certificates are also punishable. Art. 411 enacts that every may or

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\* Ital. P. C., 360.

† I will say for the Mukhtars who use these certificates, that when they produce them before an intelligent Hakim, they hand them up with a sort of deprecating air of hesitation, and hardly expect them to be believed; while the Mukhtars for the opposite party, express their opinion as to the value of the certificate by smiles of contempt and derisive comments, such as "aj kal doctor goli goli phirta," "now-a-days doctors are to be found in every gully."

‡ Dutch P. C., 228-230.

§ Hung. P. C., 408 411. The law in Germany is much the same, the punishment being a minimum of one month and a maximum of two years imprisonment. Germ. P. C., 278-280.

of a commune, who knowingly gives a false certificate concerning the character or pecuniary resources of any person, is punishable with six months' imprisonment, a fine of 200 florins and deprivation of office.

In India\* false statements in affidavits or declarations do not appear to be punishable, unless the declaration be one which a Court of Justice, or any public servant, or other person, is bound or authorised by law to receive as evidence of any fact. A case recently occurred in Bengal, in which the accused in a case, filed, what he chose to call, an "affidavit," charging the Magistrate with having falsely got up the case with the connivance of the police. The act was, of course, punishable under s.s. 228, 500, and perhaps other sections also of the Penal Code; but the process, having been issued under Sec. 193, was quashed by the High Court, and the contempt went unpunished.† But, apart from sections relating to insult and defamation, such a petition presented to a Court by an accused person ought to be punishable. Art. 200 of the Penal Code of Louisiana enacts that, "*whoever declares a falsehood, by a voluntary declaration or affidavit, which is neither required by law, nor made in the course of any judicial proceeding, is punishable with six months' imprisonment.*"

### *Revelation of Professional or other Secrets.*

Neither in England nor in India does the criminal law deal with the revelation of professional or other secrets. In both countries it would be defamation to state that a man is suffering from a loathsome disease; but this is an extreme case. There are numerous cases, in which the divulgence of secrets could not be punished; and no doubt this is a subject on which the criminal law of England and India requires some amplification.

The French Penal Code‡ imposes a penalty of from one month to six months' imprisonment and fine on doctors, surgeons, midwives, and all other persons who, by reason of their knowledge or profession, are the possessors of "secrets if they reveal such secrets, except in those cases which the law may compel them to do so (*hors les cas où la loi les oblige à se porter dénonciateurs*). The law is the same in Belgium. § The German || Code adds also the assistants of the above

\* I. P. C., 199.

† I believe I am correct in stating that the case never came to trial under the appropriate sections. The accused appears to have advantaged by his own wrong, or rather by his own mistake, in calling the document an "affidavit."

‡ Fr. P. C., 578.

| § Belg. P. C., 458

| || Germ. P. C., 300.

classes of persons, and specially names the defenders of accused persons and apothecaries. The Hungarian Penal Code,\* drawn up with extreme caution, confines the obligation to six classes of persons, namely public functionaries, advocates, doctors, surgeons, and midwives who, in the absence of strong grounds, reveal to others any secret of a nature calculated to harm the reputation of a family or an individual, which has come to their knowledge, or which has been entrusted to them by reason of their duties, position, or profession. The punishment is three months' imprisonment, and a fine of one thousand florins; but the provision does not apply to those who are bound by law to give information or evidence. The Dutch Penal Code† is more general, and punishes with six months imprisonment or a fine of 600 florins any person who intentionally reveals a secret which he was bound to keep, by reason of the duties or the profession which he actually exercises or has exercised. This Code also imposes the same penalty on any person who intentionally reveals the particulars of any commercial or industrial enterprise, in which he is, or has been, employed, and which he ought to have kept secret.‡ The Danish Code§ contains a very salutary provision of a somewhat comprehensive nature: "Whoever, by public revelations of personal or domestic matters, disturbs the peace of private life, is punishable with a fine of 200 rix dollars, or simple imprisonment for three months." • This form of annoyance is somewhat rife in England, and persecution is often put up with for years because of the uncertainty whether any particular case may be covered by the law of libel. The same punishment is incurred in Denmark by any person who reveals secrets contained in letters. The provision, on this point, is exceedingly curt, and it apparently applies to persons who receive letters as well as to others.

Of course, extortion may be committed both in England and India by threats to divulge secrets; and it is a misdemeanour|| in England, punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three years, to publish, or threaten to publish, or propose to abstain or prevent from publishing, any libel with a view to extortion. The New York Code,¶ in defining what threats may constitute extortion, expressly mentions a threat to expose any secret. But apart from extortion, and apart from any exceptional circumstances which might bring the act within the category of libel or defamation, the revelation of secrets *per se* is not punishable in England or India. I have spoken above

\* Hung. P. C., 328.

† Dutch P. C., 272.

‡ Id., 273.

§ Denmark P. C., 220.

|| 6 and 7 Vict., c. 96, s. 3.

¶ N. Y. P. C. 553.

of professional and private secrets. The revelation of State secrets also is a matter which is adequately dealt with in Continental Codes, but we look in vain through English law and the Indian Penal Code for any provisions dealing with so important a subject. Never was the absurdity and inadequacy of English Criminal law more conspicuously manifested, than when the fellow Marvin, who had committed the gross offence of divulging an important State document, had to be put on his trial for *larceny of the paper on which the document was written*! Never was there a more lamentable fiasco and failure of justice! A constitutional lawyer, apparently having this case in his mind, writes as follows: \* "A copyist in a public office, sells to the newspaper a secret diplomatic document of the highest importance. Imagination can hardly picture a more flagrant breach of duty. *But there are apparently no means available of punishing the culprit.* He may, perhaps, be put on trial for larceny on the ground of his having stolen the paper on which the communication of State is written; but a prisoner tried for a crime which he has, in fact, not committed, because the offence of which he is really guilty is not a crime, may count upon acquittal." It is not necessary to detail the provisions of Continental Codes on this subject. The penalties differ considerably according to the nature of what is revealed, and according as such revelation may harm the internal or external safety of the State. If the revelation may in any way tend to endanger the safety of the State, the minimum punishment in Denmark† is three years imprisonment in a State prison; if communicated to the public, the punishment in Hungary‡ is five years of such § imprisonment, and ten years, if the communications are made to the enemy. Publication by any person of a plan of a fortress or fortification is punishable as a contravention.

### *Opening letters addressed to others.*

If letters were not deemed sacred, and if there were no moral obligation not to divulge secret and confidential communications, society could not hold together for a moment, and ruptures would occur between the nearest and dearest friends. But moral obligations are more readily broken than legal obligations; and perhaps that community is happiest, and that society rests on the most secure basis, in which moral obligations of the nature under discussion are also legal obligations. There are always a certain number of people of weak

\* Dicey, Constitutional Law, 2nd Ed. p 203.

† Denmark F. C., 80.

‡ Hung P. C., 146.

§ This form of detention is generally used for political offenders.

principles, on whom the precepts of morality, apart from and severed from law, have no binding force. But as Bentham has well remarked, morality and legislation have the same centre, though not the same circumference, and morality quickly follows in the footsteps of legislation. The legislator can, therefore, influence and improve the morality of a community by legislating up to the level of, and in certain cases even in advance of, the opinions, ideas, and principles of the better portion of the community. When an act is made penal by law, it is less likely to be committed than when it is merely condemned on moral grounds.

Though the act of altogether suppressing a letter addressed to another might amount to theft or criminal misappropriation under the Indian Penal Code, the mere act of opening and reading such a letter does not appear to be punishable either in England or India\*. Neither is such an act punishable under the French Penal† Code. The Belgian Penal Code‡ punishes the suppression of a letter confided to the post, or the opening of it, in order to disclose its contents (*pour en violer le secret*). The German § Penal Code enacts that whoever voluntarily and without authorization opens a closed letter, or any other closed document, which was not personally meant for him, is punishable with a fine of 300 marks, or imprisonment for three months; but a prosecution can be instituted only on the complaint of the person aggrieved. In Germany, then the mere unauthorized opening is punished; not so in Belgium, where it is necessary that the person opening should intend to disclose some secret in the letter. Of course these penalties are without prejudice to any higher punishment that may be incurred, when a letter is opened by a member of the postal administration. The law in New York resembles that in Germany. A person who wilfully and without authority, either (1) opens *or reads*, or causes to be opened or read, a sealed letter or telegram; or (2) publishes the whole, or any portion of such a letter or telegram, knowing it to have been opened or read without authority, is guilty of a misdemeanour.¶ This provision does not cover letters on telegrams, which are not sealed. The Hungarian Code ¶ punishes with eight days' imprisonment and a fine of 100 florins the act

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\* Sec. I. P. C., 461, 462. A letter, or rather its envelope, could not be called a closed receptacle; and even if it could, a letter might be opened without any dishonest intention, and without any intent to commit theft or mischief. A landlady, who opens a lodger's letter, does it up again carefully; it is not her intent to commit theft or mischief.

† Cass. 9th January 1863.

| § Germany P. C., 209.

‡ B.-lg. P. C., 460. | || N Y. P. C. 642. | ¶ Hung. P. C., 327.

of knowingly and without authority opening a letter, a sealed writing, or a telegram addressed to another, as well as the getting possession of a letter or telegram addressed to another person (even though not closed) in order to know the contents; and if a secret found out in this manner is published or used, in order to harm the sender or receiver of the letter, the punishment is three months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000 florins. But there can be no prosecution except on the complaint of the person aggrieved. The Dutch Penal Code only contains one general provision, which is made applicable to private persons as well as postal and telegraph officials. It punishes with a year's imprisonment any person who diverts from its destination, opens, or damages a letter or document deposited in a postal or telegraph office, or in a pillar-box; but the opening of a letter which has been delivered is not made penal. So in England it has been made felony for *any* person to steal letters from post bags, post offices, &c., or to open any post bag, &c.; it is also a misdemeanour to fraudulently retain, or wilfully secrete, detain, or refuse to deliver up a letter delivered by mistake. But, as has been remarked above, neither in England nor India is the opening or reading a letter addressed to another a criminal offence. Such acts should be made penal; but only a small punishment need be imposed, and, as in Germany and Hungary, there should be no prosecution except on the complaint of the person aggrieved.

### *Harbouring by Relations.*

In this matter the English law appears to be somewhat harsh and severe. Bracton\* remarks that the receiving by a wife of her husband, though she has had good reason to believe he has committed a felony, is deemed no offence in her, owing to the superior claims of her relationship; but a husband may be convicted for receiving and assisting his wife. There is no exemption in respect of either the husband or of any other relation. In New York† there is no exemption at all, not even in favour of the wife. This appears somewhat strange, as the Penal Code of New York is based, for the most part, on the English common law. In India‡ the husband as well as the wife is exempted.

Is not the English law on this point marked by a needless severity and want of sympathy? We could hardly aver that the English nation to-day is characterised by a want of humanity; but English lawyers and judges have been extremely jealous of any encroachments on the theses and principles of the common law. There has been some consolidation

\* Bract., b. iii, c. 32, s. 9.

† N. Y. P. C., 30, 91.

‡ I. P. C., 212, 216.

of portions of the criminal law, but few radical changes, except as regards the severity of punishments; so it is that, while our continental neighbours have made rapid strides forward in the science of criminal jurisprudence, insular prejudices have blocked the path of reform in England, and the criminal law still remains disfigured with harshnesses, eccentricities, rigidities, and solecisms; and some of the harshness at any rate has re-appeared in the Indian Penal Code. What, then, are the provisions of Continental Codes on the subject under discussion? In France and Belgium\* not only are the husband and wife excepted from the operation of the law against harbouring, but brothers and sisters also, and other relatives in the same degree; the German† Code exempts "relations," but does not define the term; in Holland‡ the exemption is extended to relatives in a collateral line to the second or third degree; while the Penal Code of Hungary§ details the exempted relatives at length, namely, "relatives in ascending or descending line, brothers and sisters, cousins, German, adoptive and foster-parents and children, husbands and wives, *engaged persons*, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law." The Louisiana Penal Code (71) excepts the relations of the accused in the ascending or descending line, either by affinity or consanguinity, brothers and sisters, and *domestic servants*. It is also exceedingly instructive in this connection to note the provisions of a purely Oriental Code, framed by Orientals for Orientals: I mean, the Penal Code of China. In China,|| "all relations connected in the first and second degree, and living under the same roof..... when mutually assisting each other, and concealing the offences one of another, and moreover, *slaves and hired servants* assisting their masters and concealing their offences, shall not be punishable. Relations in the third and fourth degrees are liable to a punishment three degrees less than would be inflicted on strangers under the same circumstances; more remote relations receive one degree more punishment. These exceptions do not extend to cases of high treason or rebellion." In India¶ also, there is no exemption, if the person harboured be a state prisoner, or prisoner of war.

Family ties are very strong among the Hindus, if not among all Indians, and the above quoted provisions of Continental Codes are more in harmony with Hindu feelings and ideas than the existing law in the Indian Penal Code, which itself

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\* Fr. P. C., 248; Belg. P. C. 341. The husband and wife are excepted even after they have been divorced. Divorce was abolished by the law of the 8th May 1816, but it has been introduced again.

† Germ. P. C., 257. | § Hung. P. C. 78, 378 | || China P. C., 32.  
‡ Dutch P. C., 189. | ¶ I. P. C., 130.



is less harsh than the English law. We may be sure that were a Penal Code framed by Hindus, it would contain some such provision as that in the Chinese Penal Code, which I have quoted above. I do not for a moment go so far as to maintain that domestic servants should be excepted, but certainly I think the law might be more liberal in the matter of relations. Moreover, not only husbands and wives should be excepted, but men and women, who, though not actually married, have the reputation of being so from having been lived together for years as husband and wife. In awarding punishment, Indian Magistrates should consider not only proximity of relationship, but also ties of religious or semi-religious friendship,\* and the extraordinary loyalty and attachment of old family servants and dependants.

There is another point in connection with the subject of harbouring, which should be noticed. In England an accessory after the fact is one who, knowing a felony to have been committed by another, receives, relieves, comforts, or assists the felon.† It is necessary (1) that a felony should have been committed, and (2) that the party charged should know of it, or have had some notice of it. In India the first of these conditions is not essential; it is sufficient that the person harboured has been charged with an offence, or that an order has issued for his apprehension.‡ It is a difficult question of morals to decide which is the juster law; but clearly the Indian law is safer and more conducive to the interests of public justice. The law in some of the States of America appears to be the same as the law in England. The following case occurred in the state of Nebraska. § A was convicted of horse stealing, and on the same day B was convicted of having concealed A, knowing him to have stolen the horse. The judgment against A having been reversed on error, it was *held*, on error by B, that it would be presumed that the record of A's conviction was a necessary part of B's conviction, and that,

\* I allude to the friendships formed by exchange of "Mahaprasad," the 'dharma-bhai,' 'dharma-ma,' &c.

† Hale P. C., 718. See also 2 Hawk, P. C., c. 29, s. 35. "Where a person has, after the fact, acquired *reasonably certain* knowledge that the murder has been committed, he is treated as an accessory after the fact, if he harbour or assist or relieve the murderer, or cause his escape."

‡ I. P. C. 216. There appears to be some contradiction between this section and Sec. 212. The latter section enacts that *whenever an offence has been committed*, whoever harbours or conceals a person *whom he knows or has reason to believe* to be the offender, &c." The punishment is the same, except when the offence is capital. Sec. 212 seems to contemplate cases in which the authors of an offence are not known to the police, and in which therefore no process for apprehension can have issued.

§ 13 Neb. 55.

as such record had been pronounced erroneous, the judgment against B would be reversed. The text of the French Code prescribes punishment against those who harbour persons *whom they know* to have committed crimes.\* But apparently in no country does even the most pellucid phraseology of the Legislature prevent conflicting interpretations by the Courts. On the 15th October 1853, the Court of Cassation ruled (what is exactly equivalent to the Indian law) that it is sufficient if the harbourer knows of the order for apprehension. (*Il suffit qu'il soit l'objet des recherches de la justice.*) On the 27th December 1833, they had ruled exactly the opposite. On the 27th July 1867, they finally gave a ruling in accordance with the text of the law: this was to the effect that it is necessary that the harbourer, "*ayant connaissance personnelle de la culpabilité, quoique non encore reconnue en justice, ait fourni un asile ou refuge au criminel.*" The German Code † requires that an offence should have been committed, and that assistance should have been knowingly given to the offender. In New York ‡ the law is the same as in England, and is applied only in cases of felony. In India § it is applicable to all offences punishable under the Penal Code, and also all offences under special or local laws punishable with six months' imprisonment or upwards. The provision in the Hungarian || Code commences: "whoever harbours the author of a crime or delict, &c." It is clear, then, that the law in India is exceptional and less indulgent than the law in other countries. Innocent or guilty, a person charged with an offence should be brought to trial as soon as possible; and there can be no justification for concealing a person, for whose apprehension an order has been issued. *Interest rei publice ut sit finis litium*, and, if such an act be not punishable, the course of justice may be delayed and frustrated. A may be convinced that B, his personal friend, is not guilty, and yet it may well be that A is under an erroneous impression, and that B is really guilty. Private persons cannot be permitted to act on their own convictions, when such action clashes with and impedes the course of justice; or, strictly speaking, the procedure and operations of the established courts of law.

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\* Fr. P. C., 248. "Qu'ils savaient avoir commis des crimes, &c."

† Germ. P. C., 257. | ‡ N.Y. P. C., 30. In England, in cases of treason all are principals *propter odium delicti*. Nor can there be accessories in the case of misdemeanours. Those who merely assist after the misdemeanour has been committed are not punishable, unless the act amount to the misdemeanour of rescue, obstruction, &c. *R. v. Greenwood*, 21 L. J., M. C., 127.

§ See definition of "offence," s. 40, cl. 3. P. C.

|| Hung. P. C., 374.

In conclusion, I think that the penalty against harbouring in England might be extended to certain classes of misdemeanours. At the same time, it is worthy of the consideration of the Government of India whether, for the purposes of Sections 212 and 216 of the Penal Code, the term "offence" should not be more narrowly defined, so as to exclude all offences punishable with less than one year's imprisonment.

### *Homicide.*

The terminology of the English criminal law, as regards murder and manslaughter, is clumsy and misleading; but it is not my intention to say much on this head. It will not be difficult for the legislature to adopt a better classification and more logical definitions. Certainly the word manslaughter ought to be sub-divided into two or more heads, with corresponding differences in the maximum punishments to be awarded. In some of the Continental Codes nine months is the maximum imprisonment for homicide caused by some fault \* or negligence. The Indian Penal Code divides homicide into culpable homicide amounting to murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, and causing death by negligence. † The two last are both comprised in the English term manslaughter, but whereas in India causing death by a rash or negligent act (not amounting to culpable homicide) is punishable with a maximum of two years imprisonment only, the maximum punishment for manslaughter in England, is penal servitude for life. It is true that a fine may be imposed in lieu of penal servitude or imprisonment, ‡ and cases of mere carelessness, legally amounting to manslaughter, are sometimes punished in that way; but what I wish to lay stress on is, that the English law leaves far too wide a discretion to the individual judge. A jury returns a verdict of manslaughter, and on that verdict a judge may impose any sentence from fine to two years imprisonment, or five years penal servitude to penal servitude for life. *Optima est lex quæ minimum relinquit arbitrio judicis.* The wisdom of this maxim may be to some extent open to doubt; still the enormous discretion allowed to judges in the punishment of manslaughter must, I venture to think, be productive of some evils. Not even the severest penalties could eliminate carelessness from the ordinary affairs of every-day life; and extreme uncertainty as to what punishment is likely to follow any given class of acts, is admitted by all criminalists to be a grave defect in the criminal laws of a country. Some discretion there

\* e. g. Dutch Penal Code, 307.

† S. 304 A, I. P. C. "Whoever causes the death of any person by doing any rash or negligent act, not amounting to culpable homicide, shall be punished with two years, imprisonment, or fine, or both."

‡ 24 and 25 Vic., c. 100, s. 5.

must be; and the abolition of *minima* punishments is one of the marks of the advance of the science of criminal jurisprudence.\* But the legislature without erring in the opposite direction of excessive minuteness, should endeavour to accomplish some broad and reasonable classification of offences, according to the degree of heinousness, and impose *maxima* punishments for each class. In the Louisiana Penal Code there is a lucid exposition of the *ratio decidendi* in cases of negligent homicide. This code divides negligent homicide into (1) negligent homicide in the performance of lawful acts—(i) in the first degree; (ii) in the second degree: (2) negligent homicide in the performance of unlawful acts. As to the first class, want of due precaution is an element of both sub-heads; but, in the first, the danger of causing death must not be, and in the second it must be, apparent. Imprisonment in the former case varies from two months to one year, and in the latter, from two to four years. It is the want of care and precaution that distinguishes negligent from excusable homicide, and places it in the first or incipient degree of culpability. For instance, the offence is committed when death is casually inflicted by the discharge of fire arms which are believed not to be loaded, *without examining whether they are so or not*. As to apparent risk, the common case of a workman throwing materials from the roof of a house is an example. The criminality of the homicide depends on the circumstance of the *place* in which the act is done. If in the country, or other unfrequented place, without previous inquiry or examination, whether any one be in the way, it is ranked as negligent homicide of first degree (risk not apparent); if in the streets of a populous city, without the precautions required by this Code, or by the police of the city, it is negligent homicide in the second degree (risk apparent). As to the second class, negligent homicide in the performance of unlawful acts, one-fifth is added to the punishment, if the act be an injury; one-fourth, if it be a misdemeanour other than an offence against the person; one-half, if an offence against the person (except murder); the punishment to be doubled, if it be a crime punishable with hard labour for less than life, and so on†. There is much diversity in the application of section 304 A of the Penal Code by Indian Judges and Magistrates, and the rule regarding apparent risk may be usefully applied by them. In New York, every killing of one human being by the act

\* *Minima* punishments were abolished in England by 9 and 10 Vict. c. 24. But they still remain in two cases:—crimes against nature must be punished by at least ten years penal servitude, and sentence of death must be passed on conviction for treason or murder.

† Lou. P. C., 515, 533.

procurement, or culpable negligence of another (which is not murder, &c.) is manslaughter in the second degree, and punishable with from two to four years imprisonment in a state prison, or one year in a country jail, and fine. Instances of such liability given in the Code are those of the owners of mischievous animals, of persons navigating vessels, in charge of steam engines, of physicians, of persons making or keeping gunpowder contrary to law, &c.

Continental Codes generally attempt some classification, according to degrees of heinousness, of murder and manslaughter. In Hungary \* he who causes the death of another by negligence, commits the delict of homicide (as opposed to *le crime d'assassinat*), and is punishable with a maximum of three years imprisonment; a fine of 2,000 florins in addition can be imposed, where the death has been caused by inexperience or negligence of the offender in the exercise of his profession or occupation, or by non-observance of rules relating thereto. Murder with premeditation is distinguished in some Codes from voluntary homicide without premeditation, the latter being punishable with from ten to fifteen years' imprisonment. Homicide of certain near relatives is punished more severely. If the design has been conceived in a state of violent passion and immediately carried out, the maximum punishment is ten years; and only five years, if such passion has been provoked by violence or grave offences, and the homicide has been committed there and then under the influence of such passion.† In France and Belgium the murder by the husband of his wife, or her paramour, caught in the act of adultery in the conjugal house, is excusable.‡

Continental criminalists are merciful to the mother who kills her illegitimate child at the moment of its birth, or shortly afterwards; the punishment in such cases being five or six years' imprisonment. In Holland,§ this mercy is shown only if the killing has proceeded from a fear lest the *accouchement* might be discovered. So far as I know, Hungary is the only country in which a somewhat similar distinction is made in respect of the offence of causing abortion, the punishment being only two years' imprisonment (instead of three years)

\* Hung. P. C., 290. 291.

† See Hung. P. C. 278-281.

‡ Fr. P. C., 326; Belg. P. C., 413. The term 'excusable' means that if the crime be punishable with death or imprisonment for life, the punishment is reduced to from one to five years' imprisonment; if it be any other crime, the punishment is six months to two years. In the case referred to in the text, juries often acquit altogether.

§ Dutch P. C., 290.

if the woman committing the offence be unmarried.\* This distinction is reasonable, as the motive for the commission of the offence is far greater in the one case than the other.

A curious case† occurred recently, in which a man was actually found guilty of murder, because, having agreed with another man that they should both commit suicide, he happened to survive the attempt, while the other man perished. This surely is a signal instance of the need for classification of which I have spoken above. I believe this act would not amount to murder in any other country. Again, if a man is killed at his own request by the hand of another, the latter in England is deemed a murderer, and is liable to the full penalty of the law. This is an act specially dealt with by modern Codes, and instances may well be imagined in which it would be harsh to inflict a severe penalty. A man is ill and knows he cannot recover; tortured with agonizing pains, he may linger on for months, and he asks a relative to mix some swift, and painless poison in his food or drink. Is the relative, who complies with such a request, earnestly made and repeated with solemn adjurations, to be placed in the same category as the murderer? The criminal jurists of Austria-Hungary‡ deem three years seclusion to be a sufficient maximum punishment for this act; in Holland§ the maximum is twelve years. So any incitement to the commission of suicide, or procuration of the means therefor, is punishable with only three years' imprisonment, and that only if the suicide actually takes place, or at least is attempted. In England the adviser is guilty of the murder, suicide being considered as the murder of one of the sovereign's subjects. The Indian Penal Code naturally partakes of the severity of the English law. Abetment of the suicide of children, insane persons, &c., is punishable with death or transportation for life, or ten years imprisonment; in any other case the abetment is punishable with a maximum of ten years' imprisonment.|| The Hungarian Penal Code (283) contains a curious provision dealing with the case of two persons agreeing to decide by lot or chance, which of them shall kill himself. If, in the execution of such agreement, an act tending to suicide has been committed, both are liable to imprison-

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\* It would be more correct to say that the woman must be unmarried when she becomes *enceinte*. The words of the French translation are "*si elle était devenue enceinte, hors mariage*," A widow or *divorcée* married at the time she became *enceinte*, would, of course, be liable to the higher punishment. Hung. P. C., 285

† See also *R. v. Dyson* K. and R. 523. | ‡ Hung. P. C., 282.

§ *-Celui qui ôte la vie à un autre pour satisfaire au désir exprès et sérieux de celui-ci, &c.* Dutch P. C., 293. (French translation.)

|| I. P. C., 305, 306

ment in a state prison for from one to five years ; if death has resulted, the survivor is liable to such imprisonment for from five to ten years.

The matter of compensation to the families of deceased persons is generally a question of civil law ; but one or two Codes provide that, in cases of murder or homicide, if the victim has left persons whom he was bound to support, a capitalized indemnity, or an annual pension, shall be paid to them by the State.

In considering the subject of homicide, I should not omit to notice the offence, or rather act of homicide by pure omission.

*Homicide by simple omission.*

I refer to those cases in which the omission is that of some act which is not a legal duty. Sir James Stephen appears from his Criminal Digest to be uncertain whether this is made punishable by the criminal laws of any country. I find the case specifically provided for in the Penal Code of Louisiana. Art. 483 is as follows : " If words are used, which are calculated to produce, and do produce some act which is the immediate cause of death, it is homicide. A blind man, or a stranger in the dark, directed by words only to a precipice where he falls and is killed ; a direction verbally given to take a drug that it is known will prove fatal, and which had that effect, are instances." This, of course, is the law in England and India ; but Art. 484 of the Louisiana Code goes on to enact, that " homicide by omission only is committed by voluntarily permitting another to do an act (*e. g.*, the case of the blind man walking to a precipice) that must, in the natural course of things, cause his death, without apprising him of his danger, if the act be involuntary, or endeavouring to prevent it, if it be voluntary." These acts would not be offences in England or India. Sec. 229 of the Indian Penal Code enacts that " whoever causes death by doing an act with the intention of causing death, or with the intention of causing such bodily injury as is likely to cause death, or with the knowledge that he is likely by such act to cause death, commits the offence of culpable homicide." By Sec. 32, words which refer to acts done, extend also to illegal omissions ; but the omission to inform a blind man that he is walking towards a precipice cannot be called an illegal\* omission. The difficulty has been felt by framers of some of the most recent Criminal Codes, and they appear to have had some doubts as to the advisability

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\* The word 'illegal' is applicable to everything which is an offence, or which is prohibited by law, or which furnishes ground for a civil action.—1 P. C., 43.

of making such an omission a crime, and imposing a substantial punishment. • A sort of compromise is effected by dealing with the matter as a contravention, and not as a crime or delict. For instance Art. 450 of the Dutch Penal Code, enacts that "he who, seeing another person suddenly threatened with the danger of death, omits to give or furnish him with assistance which he can give or procure without any reasonable fear of danger for himself \* or others, is punished, if the death of the person in distress has resulted, with detention for 3 months and a fine of 300 florins." The Russian Penal Code imposes ecclesiastical penance in such a case. Surgeons, doctors, and midwives are also punishable with fine if they are sent for by a sick person, and do not go; if they know that the sick person or child is in danger, they are further punishable with from seven days to three months' imprisonment. It is a curious fact that the Russian Criminal Code † is, in many respects, more advanced than that of many Western nations.

• The subject of homicide may be fitly concluded with a brief analysis of the most salient differences between English and Indian law :—

| England         |     |     | India |  |
|-----------------|-----|-----|-------|--|
| A. murder       | ..  | ... | A.    | Culpable homicide amounting to murder.     |
|                 | .   |     | B.    | Culpable homicide not amounting to murder. |
| B. Manslaughter | ... | ... | C.    | Causing death by a rash or negligent act.  |

Some acts, which in England are murder, fall under Indian class B; while acts falling within Indian class A, are often punished as merely manslaughter in England.

1. In India accident is often an absolute, and always a much wider, defence to a charge of culpable homicide (Sec. 80, P.C.); in England it is no defence, if the act really intended amounted to felony, and only reduces to manslaughter, if the act intended was a misdemeanour or actionable wrong.

2. By English law provocation consisting of mere words does not mitigate the offence. In India it is a question of fact.

3. In India excess in good faith of the right of private defence reduces to manslaughter; not so in England.

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\* This is the law also in Louisiana. The words of the Code are : "He shall be deemed to have permitted it voluntarily, who omits the necessary means of preventing the death when he knows the danger, and can cause it to be avoided, *without danger of personal injury or pecuniary loss.*"

† The Code consists of twelve titles and 1,711 Sections. Its chief characteristic is its minuteness, and the extreme variety of classification in dealing with offences and punishments.



4. Killing by consent is only manslaughter in India but murder in England. The cases of Suttee, and duelling fall within the 5th exception to sec. 300 P. C. The English law regards duelling as murder, where death is caused, though the Courts have, in some instances, held the crime to be only manslaughter, *e g.*, when the party killing was really the aggrieved party, and neither the aggressor nor the assailed took any advantage by weapons. The seconds in a duel are regarded as equally guilty of murder\*; so that the second of the party killed may find himself in the anomalous situation of being indicted for the murder of the very friend whose quarrel he espoused.†

5. There is no rule in India that the death must happen within a certain time. In England, death must happen within a year, or, as some say, within a year and a day. Under the Stabbing Act of 2 Jas. I., c. 7, the death must have ensued within six months.

6. Causing death by a rash or negligent act is, in India, made a distinct offence.

The definition of culpable homicide amounting to murder is framed in such a comprehensive manner in the Indian Penal Code, as to drag within its meshes many acts which are punished in England as manslaughter only, and in other countries as homicide of an inferior degree. As regards the time fixed, within which death must happen, there seems no necessity to fix any time in a country like England. But it is worthy of consideration whether, in certain cases, some time should not be fixed in India. Very wonderful things, to our Western ideas, happen in Oriental countries, things which the ordinary legislator would not contemplate. The habit of striking a spear into the corpse of some person, who has died a natural death in order to charge an enemy with murder, is a pastime of so ordinary and legitimate a character, that we find it mentioned in Norman Chevers' Medical Jurisprudence. But there is far less transparent clumsiness and *gaucherie* in the custom (said to have been common once) of naming all one's bitterest enemies in a dying declaration regarding the cause of one's death. In Bengal—thanks to a malaria-saturated population—a petty assault or riot may, at any moment, be converted into homicide. A fight takes place concerning an irrigation-channel, or a crop of mustard worth a few rupees; blows with lances are exchanged, and some moribund weakling succumbs out of sheer malice prepense to a blow, which he would hardly have felt if his

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\* 1 Hale P. C. 442; *R. v. Young*, 8 C. and P., 644.

† *R. v. Cuddy*, 1 C. and K., 210.

spleen were not of a size to put to shame even the fattest geese of Strasbourg. To engage in a riot is, therefore, a veritable gambling transaction; and I am sure those who have administered districts like Backergunge in their palmiest rioting days, will admit that many men are now "rotting" in jail—to use the term invariably adopted by pleaders when arguing motions or appeals—in consequence of the prevalence of enlarged livers and spleens.

Ordinary cases of rioting have often to be remanded several times, because it is not certain whether wounded men lying at the dispensary may or may not die from the effect of blows received. Perhaps eager inquiries are made at the dispensary by interested persons, as to whether a certain wounded man will not die, so that the opposite side may be committed to the sessions on a charge of culpable homicide! Is it too outrageous or far fetched to suppose, that some crass low-caste yokel might be persuaded to let himself die on the promise that his family would be well-maintained after his death? Such a supposition may at least be suggested by the provisions of the Chinese Penal Code regarding the period of responsibility for the consequences of a wound. Art. 303 of that Code enacts that "when any person is wounded, the Magistrates shall distinctly examine and take evidence respecting the wound, in order to ascertain the nature thereof, and the manner in which it was inflicted; which having done, *they shall according to the circumstances determine the period during which the offender is to be held responsible for the consequences*, that is to say, strictly bound both to provide medicinal assistance for the wounded person for such time, and also to answer for the contingency of his death, either on account of such wound, or from any external cause operating thereon, previous to the expiration of the period. If the wounded person dies after the expiration of the period, the offender shall not be held guilty of a capital offence, but be punished according to the apparent nature of the wound inflicted." These rules contain a great deal of common sense, and it seems to me that they contemplate possibilities which are not dreamt of in the philosophy of Western law-makers. An intermediate period of 40 days is established for gun-shot wounds, and Staunton has remarked that the judicious application of this particular law, once very materially helped to extricate the East India Company's representatives in China from very serious difficulties, and from the distressing alternative of either ignominiously sacrificing the life of a British subject, or totally abandoning the important commercial interests under their management. Some period of responsibility might be fixed in India in the case of blows from the ordinary, latee of the country. There are two other alternatives: either culpable

homicide amounting to murder should be more narrowly and strictly defined, or local Governments should, from time to time, scrutinise the records of homicidal riot cases, and freely exercise their prerogative of mercy under Section 401 of the Code of Criminal Procedure in any cases which appear to call for clemency.

### *Hurt (Assault and Battery.)*

Section 321 of the Indian Penal Code enacts that "whoever does any act with the intention of thereby causing hurt to any person, or with the knowledge that he is likely thereby to cause hurt to any person, and does thereby cause hurt to any person, is said voluntarily to cause hurt." The point does not appear to have ever arisen in India, whether the words "any person" would include the case of a man inflicting hurt on himself, though he might abet the infliction of hurt on himself. For instance at the *Jhulan Fatra* (swinging festival) fanatics are no longer allowed to be suspended from hooks passed through the flesh of their backs, and the people appear to have acquiesced in the suppression of this practice as readily as they did in that of *suttee*. The hooks are now passed through the wearing apparel, and this appears to satisfy the requirements of religion. A religious mendicant, who slashes himself with a knife in order to extort alms, or because alms are refused, might be brought under the special form of criminal intimidation punishable by Sec. 508 \* of the Penal Code. But it does not appear to be an offence in India, for a man to cut off his own hand or foot. Nor apparently would it be an offence for another to inflict hurt on him, not amounting to grievous hurt † *Volenti non fit injuria*.

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\* This is the offence commonly known as "sitting *dharma*." It is, or rather was—for it is now almost obsolete—resorted to by creditors to enforce repayment of loans, or to compel arrears of pay or pension due from a public officer or prince. The siter observes a strict fast, and if he dies, the debtor becomes the object of divine displeasure. Originally the person so sitting was a Brahman, and the debtor was exposed to the consequences of Brahmanicide. The practice continued to prevail among professional beggars and vagabonds, who resorted to it in order to extort alms.

† Sec. 87, of the Penal Code is as follows: "Nothing which is not intended to cause death or grievous hurt, and which is not known by the doer to be likely to cause death or grievous hurt, is an offence by reason of any harm which it may cause, or be intended by the doer to cause, to any person above eighteen years of age, who has given consent, whether express or implied, to suffer that harm; or by reason of any harm which it may be known by the doer to be likely to cause to any such person who has consented to take the risk of that harm." The illustration relates to two persons fencing for amusement. Secs. 88 and 89 refer to acts not intended to cause death, done by consent, in good faith, for the benefit of a person. These sections indicate that it is an offence for a person

Article 207 of Stephen's Digest states that no one has a right to consent to the infliction on himself of bodily harm amounting to a maim, *for any purpose injurious to the public.*\* Malingering for alms is punishable in some countries, and where the system of conscription is in force, self-mutilation in order to avoid service, is an offence. The German Code † punishes with a minimum of one year's imprisonment the man who, subject to military service, mutilates himself in such a way as to render himself unfit for such service and also the man who mutilates another at his request. The Code of a less military nation ‡ punishes such an act, but even when it is committed in a time of war, or when the country is threatened with war, the maximum punishment is one year's hard labour in a house of correction. In Hungary § the punishment is three years' imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 florins. "It is curious to observe," says Fæderé, || "how many young men have worn convex glasses in order to acquire *myopia* or near sightedness." Mr. Lane, ¶ writing of Egypt in 1834, says: "There is seldom to be found, in any of the villages an able-bodied youth or young man who has not had one of his teeth broken out (that he may not be able to bite a cartridge), or a finger cut off, or an eye pulled out, or blinded, to prevent his being taken for a recruit." The provisions of the New York Penal Code on this subject are very clear and comprehensive. Article 207 enacts that "a person who, with design to disable himself from performing a legal duty, existing or anticipated, inflicts upon himself an injury, whereby he is so disabled, is guilty of a felony." By Article 208, every person who thus maims himself, with intent to avail himself of such injury, to excite sympathy, or to obtain alms, or any charitable relief, is punishable with one year's imprisonment and fine; and by Article 206, maiming includes serious disfigurement of the person by any mutilation thereof, and serious diminution of physical vigour by the injury of any member or organ. The English and Indian legislature would do well to make the law a little clearer than it appears to be at present.

Just as the term larceny is made to do duty for a number

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to cause grievous hurt to another, except for his benefit. If this is so, either the definition of "voluntarily causing hurt," (s. 321), or of "voluntarily causing grievous hurt," is defective.

\* The illustration is: A gets B to cut off A's right hand, in order that A may avoid labour and be enabled to beg. Both A and B commit an offence. 1 Inst. 107 *a, b*.

† Germ. P. C., 142.

| § Hung. P. C., 451.

‡ Den. P. C., 78.

| Tr. de Med. Leg. ii. 480, quoted in Beck's Med. Jur.

¶ Lane's Mod. Egypt, 294.

of acts that are not larceny in the proper sense of the term, so many acts that are not assault, are treated as assault by English law. In the case of *R. vs. Coney* \* it was ruled that persons aiding at a prize-fight are guilty of assault, and three of the judges thought that mere presence, without aiding, was sufficient. Putting a child into a bag, and leaving the bag hanging from some palings is an assault †; and even to detain a child at a board school, after the regular school hours, has been punished as an assault." ‡

There is one more point to notice in connection with assault. The legislature should indicate, with some clearness, how far, and in what cases, disciplinary correction is justifiable; at present a good deal is left to the discretion of the deciding justice. It appears to be the law that a parent, guardian or schoolmaster has the power of moderately correcting a child or pupil but that this privilege is no longer allowed to the master over his apprentice or servant. Nor can a husband any longer assault his wife, though by the common law he was permitted "*modicam castigationem adhibere*," and for graver offences, "*etiam flagellis et fustibus acriter verberare uxorem*." But in the former cases it is not clear what extent of correction is permitted to the parent or schoolmaster, and cases decided in the police courts exhibit varying idiosyncrasies in the deciding magistrates, some giving undue latitude, and others perhaps not enough. Then again it is not quite clear in England whether insult ever justifies an assault, or at what point and what amount of violence may be used to eject a man from private premises, from a public meeting, from an omnibus or railway carriage. As to insults the Dutch Penal Code (41) exempts from punishment an act committed in the necessary defence of life or honour, and the same article goes on to lay it down that an act, which exceeds the limits of necessary defence is not punishable, if it is the immediate result of strong passion caused by the attack. As regards the other points noted above, Article 223 of the New York Penal Code enumerates six instances in which the use of force or violence is declared to be "not unlawful." One of these is the use of force or violence, "reasonable in manner and moderate in degree," for the correction of a child, ward, apprentice, or scholar; another permits the ejection of a passenger from any carriage,

\* 8 Q. B. D. 534; 15 Cox, 46

† *R. v. March*, 1 C. and K. 496. This would be criminal force in India. Criminal force is distinguished from assault. Hurt is a more serious form of criminal force.

‡ *Hunter v. Johnson*, 53 L. J. (M. C.) 182. This act in India would be wrongful confinement, if the child were confined within certain circumscribing limits; otherwise it would be merely wrongful restraint.

car, &c., by a carrier of passengers or his servants, or any person assisting them, at their request, when such passenger has refused to obey a lawful and reasonable regulation prescribed for the conduct of passengers. Article 415 of the Louisiana Penal Code is as follows: "Violence offered to the person does not amount to battery, when done in the execution of the right of moderate restraint or correction given by law to the parent over the child; the tutor or curator over his minor ward; the master over the apprentice or servant; the schoolmaster over the scholar; for the preservation of order in any meeting; for the necessary preservation of the peace, or to prevent the commission of any crime; to prevent or put an end to an intrusion on a legal possession." &c. The proposed Criminal Code for England should contain some clear provisions or illustrations on this subject.

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## ART. IX.—LAW REFORM AND CHAOS.\*

“*χείροσαι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις.*”—

THESE are two curiously dissimilar books. The one is intended to appeal to a large circle of readers, while the other, from the nature of its subject, cannot be supposed to interest those to whom the Hindu Law and its modern development is an unknown country. The one is controversial, and seeks to justify a position which the author has for some years taken up in the face of prevailing authority, and the other deals with accepted and ascertained facts, and only seeks to cast new light, suggested by the writer's experience, upon topics already criticised and discussed. One work comes forth stamped with the ‘imprimatur’ of the University of Oxford. The other is entirely a private venture and, if it commands interest, will do so by virtue of its trenchant arguments, laborious research, and undeniable merit.

The general scope and intention of Mr. Whitley Stokes' book is set forth in his General Introduction. “It is hoped,” he says, “that such a work will be useful in India, not only to the judges, legal practitioners, and law students, for whom it is primarily intended, but also to bankers, traders, public servants, and future legislators; and that in England and the Colonies it will be welcome to lawyers who have to advise on Indian settlements, titles, and contracts: to merchants and others transacting business with India: to candidates for the Indian Civil Service: to all who take an interest in the efforts of English statesmen to confer on India the blessings of a wise, clear, and ascertainable law, and especially to those who are interested in what is still in London and New York, the burning question of Codification.” It may be as well to express an opinion upon this point at once. So far as the work admits us to knowledge of which the writer has a special command, we may look forward with interest to what the

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\* 1. *The Anglo-Indian Codes*. Edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, Correspondent of the Institute of France, and late Law Member of the Council of the Governor General of India. Vol. 1, Substantive Law. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1887.

2. *Indian Usage and Judge-made Law in Madras*. By J. H. Nelson, M. A. Sometime fellow of King's College, Cambridge, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law: A District Judge in Madras: author of ‘A View of the Hindu Law’: ‘The Scientific Study of the Hindu Law’, &c. London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square, 1887.

draftsman of four of these Acts has to say. But in the estimation of the English-speaking community in this country, it is improbable that a work of this nature will be classed with, far less supersede, the rank and file of commentaries, all more or less accurate and authoritative, which are in the hands both of the practising lawyer and of the merchant or civilian. The lawyer would remark the absence of an Index to Cases, and the fragmentary and discursive character of the Notes; while, as regards the general public, it is no exaggeration to say of India that in no country is there a wider diffusion of legal ideas, and nowhere is the tendency of legislation or the decisions of the judicature followed with keener interest. Under these circumstances no law-book which does not profess to deal with every judicial finding from a professional point of view, will be likely to commend itself to those who have to undertake the serious business of administering the law to uninformed suitors, or of advocating the cause of a helpless and insatiable client, in a country where the law changes from day to day, and the acumen and ability of both judge and advocate is by no means a fixed quantity.

By the more general class of readers, especially outside India, Mr. Whitley Stokes' edition of the Anglo-Indian Codes will be hailed with genuine satisfaction. It will be of real service to the law student and the professor wherever the English language is spoken, and should very properly become a part of the course of study in all the law schools of any note. To have made the Indian Codes accessible to English readers in a cheap and procurable form, is in itself sufficient recommendation for this book, and our experience in India cannot but be invaluable to others in proportion as the law in England is simplified and reduced to leading principles. That there should be a close and intimate connection between India and the select few who are the pioneers of Law Reform at home, is the best guarantee that we have been breaking ground to some purpose. The efforts of such students as Professor Holland cannot be overestimated; at the same time they will never be fully appreciated by the Philistine majority of the legal profession; for the simple reason that the man whose days are occupied in advocacy has no leisure to examine the fabric whereon he stands, and often views with mistrust the labours of the builders who stone by stone have put that fabric into its position.

From these remarks it may be concluded that the volumes on the Anglo-Indian Codes will be a valuable acquisition to the jurist and the student, but will not excite much attention among working lawyers. The first volume which contains the Penal Code, the Succession Act, and the General Clauses Act,



the Acts dealing respectively with Contract, Specific Relief Trusts, and Easements, (the two last being not yet applied to the whole of India) is to be followed by one on Adjective Law which will comprise the Codes of Criminal and of Civil Procedure, the Evidence and Limitation Acts, and (in an appendix) the Acts relating to court fees, stamps, and registration.

The present volume is prefaced by a suggestive General Introduction. Starting from the debates on the renewal of the Charter in 1833, we are met at the outset by Macaulay's epigrammatic dictum, "our principle is simply this—uniformity when you can have it, diversity when you must have it, but in all cases certainty," which axiom may be said to have given its colour to all subsequent efforts in the direction of law-making in this country. Similarly on being introduced to the first Commission which prepared the draft of the Penal Code, we are reminded that though the work was allowed to slumber for many years, it was, in the first instance, undertaken only as an instalment of a much larger scheme. The Commissioners on submitting their draft, remark: "no part can be brought to perfection while the other parts remain rude. The Penal Code cannot be clear and explicit while the substantive civil law and the law of procedure are dark and confused." The year 1859 marks a development of fresh activity. The second Commission appointed in pursuance of the next Charter Act, had prepared drafts of codes of criminal and civil procedure, and had reported that "what India wants is a body of substantive civil law," based upon the law of England; but that "such a body of law should be prepared with a constant regard to the condition and institutions of India, and the character, religions and usages of the people." In the year 1859 the Code of Civil Procedure and the Limitation Act were enacted, and in the following year the much delayed Penal Code became law. The next year produced a Code of Criminal Procedure, and the last and most famous of the three Commissions commenced its labours expressly with a view to carrying out the recommendations, above quoted, of its predecessor; and when in 1870, the members resigned upon finding themselves at variance in the views which they held, in opposition to the Indian Government, upon certain questions arising out of the Contract Bill, much solid work had been achieved. They submitted, in succession, to the Secretary of State, several Reports containing draft Bills, which were in turn forwarded to the Indian Government with a view to legislation; one of these became the Succession Act in 1865 under the auspices of Sir H. S. Maine, and others, such as those relating to evidence, contract, transfer of property, and specific relief, received their final shape at the hands of his successors.

Mr. Whitley Stokes has collected several extracts from a

correspondence which extended over the years 1875-77, between Lord Salisbury and the Indian Government, in which the former pointed out that several branches of the law remained uncodified, and while combating the various difficulties which the latter had suggested, stated his conviction that "the question of giving a Civil Code to India could no longer be regarded as an open one," and that "its completion is an accepted policy which cannot now be abandoned without great detriment to the people and serious discredit to the Indian Government." That his Lordship fully understood the subject appears from the whole tenor of this correspondence and in the result the Government of India in their despatch, written on the 10th May 1877, admitted the necessity for fresh efforts, and proposed that the law relating to trusts, easements, alluvion and diluvion, master and servant, negotiable instruments, and the transfer of property, should be taken up, and their codification carried out in India. Mr. Whitley Stokes says, that he then proceeded to draft bills which were submitted to a new Commission, which in its Report, dated the 15th November 1879, after laying down certain general principles, recommended, among other things, that the Bills relating to the subjects already dealt with should be passed into law, and "that the law of actionable wrongs should then be codified; that, concurrently with, or after framing a law of actionable wrongs, the laws relating to insurance, carriers, and lien, should be codified; that the legislature should then deal with the law of property in its whole extent, and that preparation be made for a systematic chapter upon interpretation." The first of these recommendations was carried into effect in the years 1881 and 1882; but during the past four years, Mr. Stokes points out that, very little has been accomplished, and that "to all appearances the Indian Government has at last yielded to influences resembling those which in India pigeon-holed the Penal Code for more than 20 years, and which here in England deprive the nation of the priceless boon of a body of substantive law not only wise, but clear, compact, and easily ascertainable." The General Introduction concludes with some instructive remarks upon the rules followed by draftsmen, and the use of illustrations in the Indian Codes.

Each of the different enactments is prefaced by an Introduction which occupies about one-fourth of the number of pages covered by the text and foot-notes. These latter are by no means exhaustive, nor do they deal with the real difficulties of interpretation or conflicting decision. It cannot but be regretted that reference is not more frequently made therein to the English decisions upon which each section rests, in cases where the enactment is professedly drawn from English

sources ; and that, in the case of the Acts relating to the transfer of property, trusts, specific relief, and easements, the draftsman has not taken us into his confidence more fully respecting the nature and the difficulties of his task. Generally speaking, the Introductions contain a good deal of 'Jurisprudence in the air,' distasteful to the practising lawyer, but undeniably a stimulating exercise to the general reader. That to the Penal Code is little more than a summary of the Act under its chief headings. The one on the Contract Act is written from a professorial point of view, and that to the Succession Act contains some suggestions for its amendment.

Mr. Whitley Stokes' opinion as to Amendment and Re-enactment deserves notice. With reference to the Penal Code, he points out that no one can say it is as well arranged as it should be, and besides this, there have been a number of decisions, some of them doubtful, which should either be incorporated or set aside. He thinks, therefore, that "the time has come for repealing Act XLV of 1860, and re-enacting it with the changes made by the amending acts, and with improvements in arrangement, wording, and substance." As regards the Succession Act, he thinks that it has been successful in respect of the two great changes which it effected, the assimilation of land to personal property in respect of its devolution, and the extinction of the rights formerly acquired by husband or wife in each other's property. The law relating to wills, probate, and administration, in the case of Hindus and Buddhists, is not in a satisfactory condition, and Mr. Stokes would remedy this by consolidating Acts X of 1865, XXI of 1870, V of 1881, and VI of 1881, repealing the Certificate Act XXVII of 1860, and Bombay Regulation VIII of 1827, stating clearly to what classes of the population the new Act applies, and, for the present, exempting natives from the necessity of taking out probate or administration. He thinks that there should be a schedule of the forms needed in working such a law, and that when the measure is understood, the people would largely avail themselves of it, and would "voluntarily tax themselves to the extent that persons whose property is now dealt with under these Acts are now taxed," instead of spending the money upon litigation. As regards the Contract Act, Mr. Stokes remarks that it was never properly revised, and is an incomplete measure. He suggests that it should be re-enacted "with the amendments in arrangement, wording and substance, suggested by the cases decided upon it during the past fourteen years," and that the existing laws relating to negotiable instruments and exchanges, and to sales, mortgages, and leases of immovable property should be incorporated with it, and that chapters on carriers and insurance

should be added. Mr. Stokes suggests several minor amendments in the Specific Relief Act, and gives us some information respecting the history and framing of the Act. He thinks that the time has come for extending the Trusts Act and the Easements Act to the rest of India, and with respect to these, and also to the Transfer of Property and Negotiable Instruments Acts he argues that they have worked smoothly, from the fact that there have been few cases decided upon them. It may, however, with equal reason be suggested that these enactments are not as yet understood of the people, and that the state of things to which they would apply presupposes a much higher standard of morality as regards dealing between man and man than at present prevails in this country.

For one reason if for no other it may be regretted that greater prominence is not given to the decided cases in the English and Indian Law Reports, and that the standard text books are not more often referred to. Judged, as this book is likely to be, by its utility to the law student, pains should have been taken to impress upon him the time-honoured maxim "*melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos*," the keystone to all thorough acquaintance with the law being that the learner should early obtain access to the repertory of sound sense and mature experience which is to be found in the decisions of English common law and equity judges, and that he should read the cases for himself and draw his own deductions therefrom. With reference to the 'Jurisprudence' part of the book, it must further be remarked that the habit of interpreting decisions, and of tracing a principle down to its roots, cannot be acquired by any process similar to the labours of the historian or jurist. Invaluable as may be the faculty of comparing and analysing the legal systems of different nations, or of reducing to a scientific system the rights and duties which a man may, under various circumstances, exact from, or owe to, his fellows, there is a point where the work of the jurist ceases, and that of the lawyer begins. It has been said that the fault of the English law was that if it rested upon a scientific basis, that basis was in itself hard to discover, and that, what has been termed a purely "*empirical*" knowledge, was necessary in order to say what the law was upon any given point. Some branches of the English law have now been codified to all intents and purposes. Dry light has been brought to bear upon the conflicting mass of decisions, and men of great intellectual equipment have bent their energies to elucidate what was before dark and to explain that which, if true and sound, was at apparent conflict with something else. But those who have analysed the structure are different men from these whose business it is to erect a further fabric upon it, and whose ex-

perience is needed to deal with new problems as they arise. The main result of the work of the historical or analytical jurist would seem to be, that the law is not so much being simplified, but that it is being reduced to such a shape that an educated man may understand it, and that judges and advocates may less often go wrong. When, therefore, we shall have presented India with a complete series of Codes, our responsibilities will be by no means at an end.

India has long been the subject for experimental legislation. No one will venture to deny that the completion of the Civil Code which, as Mr. Stokes says, is being unwarrantably delayed, is both important and indispensable. The teaching power of a good Code is enormous. Each man may form his ideas upon it, and test them by forthwith embarking in litigation. Where a Code is carefully framed in the first instance, and promptly amended when found to be obscure or wrong, it is possible to bring it to a state of comparative perfection; but there will be none the less need of well-trained expositors who have acquired the lawyer's habit by salutary experience. But in our haste to formulate a scientifically complete system, we are apt to forget that "all sorts and conditions of men" look to us for their law, and that, if the habitual and inveterate litigant is willing to risk his claims upon the uncertain cast of the judicial dice box, there are also "silent masses" to whom it is due that, upon all questions affecting person or property, or social status, or family rights, the law should be fixed, ascertainable, and certain.

Mr. Nelson's book is one that may well set us upon an enquiry of this sort. He cannot be said to have written without due consideration of his subject, and the fact that, having for several years advocated certain reforms and evoked much opposition and criticism, he is able to come into the field again, and to reassert the soundness of his conclusions, and to claim for some of them that the enemy has come over to his side, predisposes us to listen with attention to whatever he may have to say. The present work is an outcome of a more or less personal controversy with Mr. Innes, one of the Madras High Court Judges, which commenced shortly after the publication of Mr. Nelson's *Prospectus of the scientific study of the Hindu law* in 1882. The *gravamen* of the charges against Mr. Nelson was, that the views which he advocated, with reference to the appointment of a Commission to collect information respecting the "usages" of the peoples of southern India, tended to shake the general confidence in the decisions of the Madras High Court, and re-opened elementary questions of Hindu law already considered as definitely settled. Mr. Nelson tells us that he did not, at the time, attempt any serious

reply to Mr. Innes' "statements and arguments," but that "finding them to be common to a number of opponents," he has, in the present volume, devoted some pains to their refutation.

Part I. deals with some miscellaneous introductory subjects. Mr. Nelson is known to entertain strong views about the applicability of the Mitakshara to Southern India, and accordingly we have chapters on the "Gentoo Code," "Narada," and "Usage" generally. Mr. Nelson considers the Gentoo Code, compiled by eleven Brahman Pundits a hundred years ago, to be the most important work on Indian usage which has as yet come under his notice, and claims that there can be no reason for refusing to examine it now. We have a forcibly written chapter on the Joint Family, in which the Patriarchal or natural family is distinguished from the "Joint Undivided family," and Mr. Nelson points out that the characteristics of the various families in the Madras Presidency remain to be ascertained by observation; and that although many of them may resemble, in their essentials, the Aryan "Joint family," their development has always gone on unaffected by the Sanscrit writings. In Part II. we have the "Fifteen False Principles" which were promulgated, as the author's *theses*, ten years ago. He is able to shew that half of these have since been admitted to be false, and that in respect of all of them, the attitude of the courts has greatly altered. Mr. Nelson hopes that the expression 'schools of law,' used as denoting the authority of certain schools in certain parts of India, within certain geographical boundaries, will never be heard of again. In connection with this it is interesting to note that, at p. 325, a recent letter from Professor Max Muller is quoted, in which he says, that the Mitakshara in the south of India is what the Code Napoléon would be in England, supposing England were conquered by the French. Mr. Nelson also protests against applying the Hindu law to all persons vulgarly styled Hindus, for instance to the Maravans, although they may have always been treated as Hindus, and may have resorted to the Courts as such. What he insists on is, not that these tribes have been uninfluenced by the Hindu writings, but that they each have a separate usage which it is our duty to guard from suppression. He cites, with some force, the concluding words of the Queen's proclamation: "We will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

But by far the more convincing portion of the book is the last 113 pages, appropriately headed "Chaos." Here we have none of the author's own opinions, from which the reader might, in some instances, dissent, but an inexorable deduction from naked facts. Mr. Nelson takes a single question of

Hindu law, arising, as he points out, from the state of indebtedness which is the normal condition of the family in Southern India, where "the majority of men of substance are by turns or simultaneously, both borrowers on a large scale, or lenders, on a large scale." Suits for money lent being thus constantly brought, the debtor's relatives intervene, and questions arise touching the power of the managing member to bind himself and his coparceners for debts incurred on their behalf. The decision in these debtor and creditor suits will, says Mr. Nelson, depend upon the idiosyncrasy of the judge, or the amount of knowledge he happens to possess of the cases in the law reports. These, however, though it might be expected that such a point would be well settled, afford "no certain or intelligible teaching upon the constitution and jural relations of the Indian family."

In his crusade against "Madras doctrine," Mr. Nelson examines every decided case in the Madras Law Reports during the past ten years. The question shortly stated is this—whether a member of an undivided family can alienate joint ancestral property, or conversely, whether the members will be liable for debts contracted by their manager for purposes not immoral, or whether such an alienation will alone bind, and such debts be alone chargeable on the separate estate of the manager. Stated broadly, the question amounts to whether a man may safely lend money to the manager of a joint undivided Hindu family. The enquiry is commenced by a review of what Mr. Nelson calls the "first Half-dozen cases." One circumstance is common to all of these—a debt due by the father, usually upon a simple bond, for money borrowed to enable him to carry on business, or to repay a previous mortgage debt, or to complete improvements in the family house. The matter usually comes into court in one of two ways; (1) either a suit is brought by the creditor against father and sons, or, after the father's death, against the surviving coparceners, to have it declared that the sons are liable jointly with the father, or that the coparceners are liable to the extent of the assets which have come into their hands; (2) or else, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the law, a suit is brought in collusion with the father by the sons, praying for a declaration as against the creditor that their shares are exonerated from liability for the debt. An outsider would say that the case was governed by the principle in *Girdharee Lall and Kantoo Lall* (L. R. 1. Ind. Ap. 321) and that the father has the right to alienate the ancestral estate for all debts not immoral or illegal; but in these six cases of six different judges it is "impossible," says Mr. Nelson, "to say that any two thought alike upon such fundamental questions as the power of the father, the position of the managing member,

&c., &c." They were disposed to follow the "Madras law" in preference to *Kantoo Lall's* case, and in the "*Sivagiri* case" (I. L. R. 3 Mad. 370) one of the "Half-dozen," they plainly say that the decision in "*Kantoo Lall's* case" "was not intended to vary the course of decisions in this presidency." The chief ground of decision with the judges was that the sons, not being parties to a decree against the father, could not be held to be bound by it, the tendency being to regard the father as an unpaid trustee for his own sons. A further question discussed was, whether a father had authority to revive a barred debt by his acknowledgment and promise, and this was decided in the negative.

A revolt being thus established against *Kantoo Lall's* case, although no clear principles of any kind were established in its stead, we next come to *Ponnappa Pillel's* case in 1881 (I. L. R. 4 Mad. 1) a case decided by the five members of the Madras Bench. Sir Charles Turner, the new Chief Justice, expressed himself strongly in favor of the principle in *Kantoo Lall's* case, and arrives at the conclusion that the whole of the ancestral estate is liable in the hands of the son under an obligation incidental to the heritage, and the Privy Council decision must be applied in Madras. There is a 'corollary' to the judgment that, where the father can make, or makes an alienation of the ancestral property so as to bind the son's interest, then the son's interest as well as the father's interest, in ancestral estate, may be attached and sold in execution of a decree for the debt, not being immoral. The two Judges who followed Sir C. Turner were, however, less confident in expressing their views, and Mr. Nelson's indictment against the High Court is, that an intelligible and authoritative decision having been given upon a confused question, the minority instead of loyally accepting it set to work to destroy its effect, so that within a short time, the father once more came to be regarded as an unpaid trustee, with the inevitable result that in a common and oft recurring class of cases no one could safely predict what the result would be.

Meanwhile the *Sivagiri* case, one of the First 'Half-Dozen,' came before the Privy Council in appeal, and the Madras Judges were disastrously reversed. Sir Barnes Peacock in delivering the judgment of the Court held, that the whole zamindari, or at least the interest which the defendant took therein by heritage, was liable as assets by descent in the hands of the defendant as the heir of his father for the payment of his father's debts, and proceeded to remark, "the case is governed by the case of *Girdharee Lall and Kantoo Lall*". The doctrine there laid down was not new, but was supported by the previous cases therein cited. The principle of that case was adopted by this Board in



the case of *Suraj Bunsî Koer*, and has been very properly acted upon in Bengal, in Bombay, and in the North-West Provinces, and, although it was not acted upon by the High Court of Madras, as it ought to have been, in the case now under appeal, it has since been acted upon in a Full Bench decision by all the Judges of that Court except two who dissented . . . in *Pon-nappa Pillei vs. Pappuwayangar*.”—They further say that “the reasons given in the judgment of the High Court, in the present case, constitute no ground for the opinion that the case of Kantoo Lall does not apply to the Madras Presidency.”

The atmosphere does not appear to have been cleared by this plain statement of the law, and the demoralising effect of conflicting decisions is apparent in the attitude of the Subordinate Courts. We find a Moonsiff, in the simple case of a suit brought to recover a small debt incurred by the father for the purpose of getting his son married, referring the point of the coparcerner's liability to the High Court, “knowing the views of the courts and the bar to be divergent,” and, “lest his view should be erroneous.”—Similarly, the decision of a Moonsiff to the effect that the son is not bound by the deliberate promise of his father, given by bond, to pay a barred debt, was overruled by the High Court, on the ground that the father had given a new bond, ‘the new note operating as a renewal of the obligation.’ Mr Nelson points out that according to the Madras decisions, a father may not bind his family by endorsing on the bond the circumstance that he makes a payment on account, but he may do so in a roundabout way by executing a new bond. In another case A sued B and C, his brothers, for partition, and the question arose whether an alienation made by their father in favour of certain mortgagees in possession, could be upheld against the plaintiff. The sub-judge found that the debt was neither immoral or illegal, but the High Court—Sir C. Turner being one of the judges—held that the mortgagees had not proved that the debt was such as would justify the mortgage, which would, therefore, only affect the father's share. They said, however, that in a suit brought against the son, the burden of proof as to the nature of the debt would lie upon him. Mr. Nelson cites and examines several other cases, some of which affirm in a faltering way the principles laid down by the Privy Council, while others appear to place every possible difficulty in the way of the *bonâ fide* mortgagee, and in one case at least, a conclusion quite irreconcilable in principle with the Privy Council's decision in the *Sivagiri* case is arrived at. He returns, therefore, to his previous assertion ‘that the High Court stands committed to chaos in the matter of Hindu law.’

Nothing is calculated to create a more profound impression in the mind of any one who has a keen sense of incongruities,

than a perusal of the cases epitomized by Mr. Nelson. Yet we have nothing but a plain statement, enlivened by a little caustic humour, of the current of decisions in the Madras Court upon a point which obviously should have been settled years ago. It is the unanswerable nature of the case which arrests and holds our attention ; and, if we pause for a moment to compare Mr. Whitley Stokes' confident predictions with the problem which here lies awaiting solution, we may begin to suspect that there is something irreconcilable in the two views of the situation.

Mr. Nelson is already before us as a practical reformer. His suggestions, with reference to the state of the law in the Madras Presidency, excited the interest of Sanskritists and others who have made ancient law their study, and some of his conclusions are practically accepted. When he tells us that Brahmanical expositors have never gained a more than superficial influence over Southern India, and that the Southern Hindu has always been lax in his principles, he is only stating the conclusions at which Sir H. S. Maine has arrived. Some very interesting observations are to be found in that learned author's recent work on Early Law and Custom, where he points out that for a parallel to the independent customs of some of the primitive Southern races, it is necessary to go to the Punjab, where the law prevailing among Hindus is at best only ' imperfectly sacerdotalised.' He traces, with admirable precision, the growing despotism of Brahmanism over the human intellect, beginning with the alliance between the Brahman and the king, where by one ' sole instructed class' having the ' absolute monopoly' of learning, became " partners with princes in their authority, their advisers and assessors." Nor as is pointed out, did the Brahman sacrifice to self-indulgence, or the interest of the moment, any portion of his enormous influence. " It is," says Sir H. S. Maine, " to the combination of self-assertion with self-denial and self-abasement, that the wonderfully stubborn vitality of the main Brahmanical ideas may be attributed." Secondly, the impression early gained ground with Englishmen, that the sacerdotal Hindu law corresponded nearly to the English common law, and thenceforward the Anglo-Indian Courts of Justice were enlisted on its side. What wonder then that a system which combined in itself these intellectual and spiritual faculties, which appeal most to the human mind, should, when leagued with the physical and dominant authority, have been uniformly successful in obliterating whatever it found of archaic custom, and in reducing to its system everything which was at variance with it. What Mr. Nelson asks is, that the Customary Law which has survived till now should be ascertained and enforced, and that our courts should not lend their authority to Brahmanise

those races which have hitherto preserved their ancient usages intact. It may doubtless be argued as Mr. J. D. Mayne has pointed out, that the Dravidian races readily conform themselves to the Hindu law, especially when they have been familiar for years with Brahman officials of all kinds, and that such parts of the Sanskrit law, as are of the most importance, are in reality based upon usage common to Aryan and non-Aryan tribes. This argument is strengthened by the indifference with which Englishmen are apt to regard the usages of races of a weaker calibre than themselves. But the argument is hard to meet that if we recognise and respect a body of Punjaub Customary Law, which was described quite recently as being in a 'chaotic condition,\* we can hardly refuse the same to the races of Southern India, some of whose usages are perfectly well ascertained. It may be remembered too, that during the present year we have seen the Executive authority taking no small pains to apply to the Burdwan Family the Customary Law of the Punjaub, whence they originally came. If Mr. Nelson's opponents could point to a coherent and consistent series of decisions in the Madras Court, their views of the matter might be arguable. Unfortunately, from various causes, there appears to be no such thing as a coherent decision upon the point under discussion; and it is difficult to imagine a more unsatisfactory state of things than that the main branches of the Hindu law should, in any part of the country, remain in a chronic state of uncertainty.

Mr. Nelson's case for a Commission is, therefore, on the merits, a strong one, and his opponents are driven to the somewhat *ad misericordiam* argument that the evils which he holds up to the light are no longer remediable. From this, however, we pass, by transition, to other questions far graver than the appointment of a Commission. It may be regarded as clear that the earliest Hindu lawyers among Englishmen assigned excessive importance to some law treatises over others of, perhaps, equal interest, and that the weight of British authority has gone to strengthen a system containing as much evil as good. That such should have happened was, perhaps, inevitable from the nature of the case. An opposing current of opinion is now gaining in force which seeks to free itself from the insupportable bonds of a system in which the best minds have lost faith, and would reject every thing which does not commend itself to reason and good sense. The Hindu labouring in the fetters of the Joint Family, looks to the tribunals which we have set up, and which imply to him more than rules of

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\* Boulnois and Rattigan. "Notes on the Customary Law of the Punjab." Preface to Ed. 2, 1878.

dry law or triumph in a keenly fought case, but whose decisions are instinct with matters concerning his daily family life, the conduct of his business, even his spiritual existence. As Sir H. S. Maine remarks in commenting upon the extreme eagerness with which, in a country brought for the first time under British rule, suitors resort to the Courts. "The law is obeyed in India as uniformly as in England; but then it is much more consciously obeyed." Having before his mind the vision of such a tribunal, the suitor looks to see a supplementary equitable authority exercised by the Courts, whenever his own law appears to be artificial or unjust. It may well be questioned whether in too strictly carrying out what we believed to be the laws of the people, and which, in many cases, have nothing but antiquity to recommend them, we have not missed the opportunity of introducing important legal reforms, which would have been readily accepted, and which would have had their influence on the whole life and character of the people we have to govern.

What has been said of the Madras Presidency, has its application for the whole of India. It is impossible to consider the narrow question of 'custom versus law' which affects chiefly the non-Hindu races, without having brought before us the larger problem as to the administration of the Civil Law generally throughout the country—whether the best agency is being employed, and whether durable work is being done? The fact cannot be overlooked that leaving the Subordinate Judicial Service out of the question, it is only a very small percentage of the judges who sit to review the decisions of the lower Courts, who have had any opportunity of learning the Civil law whether English, Mohammedan, or Hindu, and the result of this must be that they do not always decide what is actually required of them, and that their opinions upon the difficult questions which frequently come before them are not always authoritative or intelligible, thereby occasioning numerous appeals. Another point is usually overlooked, that there is to be found in the Courts an exceptionally able race of practitioners, who are mainly responsible for the time occupied in the hearing of a case, and whose existence renders the position of an untrained judge one of some difficulty. However much natural insight and force of judgment he may possess, he will obviously be placed at a disadvantage, and may be reduced to wait upon his Bar, instead of guiding and controlling it. The actual decision of small points of what is known in the aggregate as 'practice,' will be found to occupy no small portion of the day's work, and to exercise an influence of the last importance upon the way in which the case is shaped and the impression produced upon the mind of the judge. Accurate and diligent

research, combined with experience of the country, may enable him to do his work as well as the man who is '*fortia verbosus natus ad arma fori*,' but the combination of the two men would be an invaluable gain to the country. When to this is added the fact, so prominently brought out by Mr Nelson's book, that the whole body of Hindu and Mohammedan law is being questioned and tested, and that there is a disposition to take nothing for granted, it follows that men of exceptional power are needed to preside in our courts.

Looking to the influence of British Courts of Justice as great teaching institutions, and admitting that the juxtaposition of inveterate prejudices with new and growing ideas, "makes the Government of India by the English, an undertaking without parallel in its novelty and difficulty, and in the amount of caution, insight and self-command demanded from its administrators,"\* it cannot be doubted what our duty is. At the same time it is to be feared that the impression is gaining ground, that a series of good Codes is all that India wants, and that the daily practical working of the law by skilled hands is a matter of less importance. It is to be feared that Mr. Whitley Stokes' book may strengthen this impression, which may partly be due to the fact that our Criminal Law, succeeding to a curious mixture of unreformed English criminal law, Mohammedan criminal law and regulations, has on the whole worked well. Its working, however, must depend upon the constant experience and ability of those who administer it. Similarly it is indispensable that the Civil Law should be administered throughout India, by a body of men carefully trained in the English law, but with sufficient breadth of mind to apply their knowledge to the utterly foreign conditions of this country, and to work out the problems of the native law upon wise and definite methods, and, what is of even more importance, able to meet, upon not unequal terms, such members of the legal profession as may practise in their courts. To secure this requires a careful selection and still more careful preparation of the agents who are to be employed. Nothing is more to be apprehended than that we should acquiesce in what has been already done, and content ourselves with the perfunctory application of such doctrines as may come readiest to our hand, without first making sure that the foundations are secure. Any one who will take the trouble to look into the earlier reports of civil cases in this country, will find there, on the whole, a systematic attempt at working down from and up to definite principles, and the test must be whether of late years those principles have been added to, and a coherent body of law

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\* Maine. Early Law and Custom p. 49.

created. For this work we must look not to the jurist or to the Sāṅskritist, or to the purely English lawyer, but to those who, setting one object before them; will enlist on their side the scientific clearness of the jurist, the sound judgment and long experience of the lawyer, and, if necessary, the 'black-letter' erudition of the student of ancient texts. To gain this end we require to possess "an amount of caution, insight, and self-command" such as has rarely been demanded from the rulers of any country, but which has invariably been forthcoming in those undertakings which have created a 'Greater Britain,' and which bid fair to extend her fame

*'Extra anni selisque vias.'*

ARTHUR CASPERSZ.

## THE QUARTER.

THE principal events of the quarter under review have been : the passing of the Crime's Act through the House of Commons ; the proclamation by the Government of the National League ; the election of Prince Ferdinand to the throne of Bulgaria ; the conclusion, by the English Government, of a convention with Egypt, defining the condition and limits of our further occupation of that country ; the final settlement (so far as finality can be understood in connexion with any phase of Russian diplomacy) of the Afghan Boundary negotiations ; the escape of Ayoub Khan ; the death of Katkoff the Russian publicist ; the result of the inquiry into the wreck of the " Tasmania " ; the death of Sir Ashley Eden ; the Cass case, and the gradual but satisfactory progress which has been accomplished in the pacification of Burmah.

The passing of the Crime's Act has placed the Government in possession of powers amply sufficient to enable them to deal with the more lawless phases of the Irish difficulty, if those powers are applied resolutely, consistently and fearlessly. But will they be applied with resolution consistency, and fearlessness? There is nothing in the antecedents of recent Irish administration whether Liberal or Conservative, which would justify us in assuming that the Crime's Act will be applied in such a manner as will vindicate the law against the outrage-mongers who have made the term 'law' in Ireland a scandal and reproach to English civilization. This is one of the penalties which we have to pay for our boasted system of party Government. The Government has to reckon not merely with Irish lawlessness but with the sentimentality of English constituencies. It is not that they love Ireland less, but that they love office more. The Irish Land Bill is an illustration of what an English Government will do—even a Conservative English Government—in the direction of sacrificing Irish landholders to the clamour of English Radical opinion. If the Land Bill passes into law, the judicial rents—the rents fixed by Judicial Committee five years back as "fair and reasonable,"—will be reduced by about 35 per cent. This is a nice prospect for the unfortunate people who bought these lands on the strength of a Parliamentary title, and shows what the guarantee of our English Parliament is worth in our time.

The Government has proclaimed the National League. This is a strong measure, and if it is fearlessly and energetically enforced, ought to go a long way towards effecting a settlement of

the Irish difficulty. But if it is only partially enforced—if, for open conspiracy against the Government, we have substituted secret conspiracy, and if that secret conspiracy is not followed up and crushed with a strong hand—the proclamation of the League will mean nothing, or worse than nothing, in the interests of order and security in the country. The secret conspiracy will work, quite as effectually, only more vindictively, and the end of Irish troubles will be remote from us as ever. In the meantime we can only watch and wait.

The election of Prince Ferdinand to the throne of Bulgaria has not been accepted by the general voice of European public opinion as a satisfactory solution of the Bulgarian difficulty. It has been denounced and ridiculed by Russia, and regarded very coldly, indeed, by Germany. But what candidate, except a Russian Prince, would give satisfaction to Russia? All the more recent phases of this Bulgarian difficulty remind us of the sort of dead-lock which has sometimes been known to occur in connexion with a game of billiards. The striker's ball if accidentally touched, must be replaced to the satisfaction of the adversary, but when the adversary has an interest in not continuing the game—he is very seldom satisfied. The overturned Bulgarian administration is to be replaced to the satisfaction of Russia but Russia declines to be satisfied, and so the game cannot proceed. If the game was allowed to proceed just now, Russia might lose it, and so the dead-lock is to be maintained until she thinks fit to allow it to be removed.

The English Government has concluded a convention with the Egyptian Government respecting the British occupation of Egypt. The English military garrison will be gradually reduced, and it is hoped that the evacuation of the country by English troops will be completed in five years from the present time; but the English Government reserves to itself the right of prolonging this occupation of the country indefinitely if circumstances should require them to do so. This convention has not been ratified by Turkey, and it has been "energetically" protested against by Russia and France. The action of France is, of course, intelligible enough. France has an interest in Egypt which England has never pretended to dispute. Just before the Egyptian campaign against Arabi, the English were very solicitous about securing the co-operation of France, and offered to act in concert with that power throughout. But why should Russia assume a paternal interest in the future of Egypt? Only this. Just now, and for the time being, Russia has an obvious interest in keeping on good terms with Turkey, her "dearest foe," and therefore England must be



taught, by the energetic protests of Russia, to respect Turkish susceptibilities—susceptibilities cruelly ignored by the Anglo-Egyptian convention. Lord Palmerston set his face against the project of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Suez. He maintained to the day of his death that the Suez Canal would prove a source of embarrassment and danger to us, and that sooner or later it would involve us in difficulties with France; and if the Franco-German war had not taken place when it did—or, if the issue of that war had been favorable to France instead of to Germany—it is certain that the Arabi insurrection would have proved a very awkward episode for England, indeed. Under these circumstances we should have heard something more of “French preponderance” in Egypt. In the meantime our action in Egypt has offended both France and Turkey, and what this may involve for us when we come to settle our inevitable conflict with Russia, no one can predict. If Russia attacks India and if at the same time France, taking advantage of the opportunity, decides on picking a quarrel with us about Egypt, we shall have our hands very full indeed.

The Afghan frontier has been settled at last—settled to the satisfaction of Russia, England and Afghanistan, and the boundary pillars, marking the frontier, are to be erected at once. Russia surrenders territory in one direction and gains territory in another, and the gain brings her eleven miles nearer to Herat. The settlement of the boundary question is of course satisfactory so far as it goes, but it certainly does not go very far. It is satisfactory to be able to say to Russia, in case of aggression, “This is a violation of a solemn agreement;” but Russia has in her time violated a good many agreements, and the process is one which is not likely to embarrass or confuse her in the least. But what of that? Russia may take Herat and Cabul, attack Candahar, and threaten India, but we can fall back on that priceless source of consolation—moral indignation.

Ayub Khan escaped from Teheran with a few followers; and fled from Persia towards Pariah in Afghanistan, but was repulsed by the followers of the Amir. Ayub has a strong following in Herat, and when the Heratis and Cabulies come to loggerheads, what is to prevent Russia from stepping in, in the interests of order, to adjust their little differences? But then there is the Afghan boundary pillar on the road to Meruchak. The pillar is a very respectable piece of masonry, no doubt; but supposing, as may easily happen that the civil war in Herat extends itself to the neighbourhood of the pillar, Russia will be able to say—“We respected the pillar, but the anarchists at the other side of it

have no respect for it—Cabulies have passed it in pursuit of Heratis, have passed it in pursuit of Cabulies—we must put a stop to this; and the only way to put a stop to it is, to occupy Herat as a temporary measure until these little dissensions are adjusted. And if this happens, our last source of consolation—moral indignation—will be taken away from us, for it is only too possible to imagine a state of affairs beyond the Russian frontier towards Herat, which would not only justify, but in a sense compel Russian interference—the state of affairs which compelled us to annex Upper Burmah, which justified the extension of the British Empire in India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. The truth is, that the sooner we cease to concern ourselves with the moral aspect of Russian aggression the better, because, in the first place, that concern will be entirely wasted as far as Russia is concerned, and because, in the second place, there is a good deal too much in the history of our own annexations which will not bear any very close examination from a strictly moral point of view.

Katkov, the Russian journalist, is dead. Katkov was a sort of literary Skobeleff. He represented, to a certain extent—he may be said to have created—the extreme section of the Slavonic patriotic school in Russia. He was furiously anti-German and furiously anti-English, and furiously philo-Slavonic in his political sympathies, but he was a man of honor, courage and talent, and he was not only beloved by his own countrymen, but held in personal esteem by the most uncompromising opponents of his political views.

The result of the protracted inquiry into the wreck of the "Tasmania" has been published, and the general result may be summed up as follows:—The P & O Company is substantially exonerated from all responsibility or blame in connection with the wreck of one of their finest ships. The captain was a competent officer, perfectly equal to the duties of his position, and so far from being dazed, behaved with all necessary coolness and judgment after the wreck took place. The first officer behaved admirably; the second officer bore a good character before this, but nevertheless he must be held mainly responsible for the calamity: first because there is every reason to believe that he altered the ship's course, and secondly, because he was away from the bridge just before the vessel struck, and therefore failed to observe, from the position of the coast lights, the perilous course the ship was taking. The passengers who remained on the "Tasmania" behaved admirably, and the Lascar crew did as well as could possibly be expected from them under the circumstances. The officers who went in the life-boat behaved

disgracefully, with the exception of the fourth officer, who exerted himself to bring the life-boat back to the ship, and the male passengers who went on shore in the boats behaved shamefully, in not assisting the few men who tried to regain the wrecked vessel in the life-boat.

Sir Ashley Eden, the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, died very suddenly during the quarter. He was a member of the Indian Council at home at the time of his death. Sir Ashley was one of the strongest and most sagacious rulers who ever presided over the administration of an Indian province. The two characteristic peculiarities of his official genius were, rapidity combined with thoroughness in the transaction of official work, and a mind entirely emancipated from the influence of sentimentalism or cant. No man was ever less of a theorist or more of a practical administrator than Sir Ashley Eden. He understood the native character thoroughly, and the natives knew, as indeed they were always made to feel, that he did understand them. He gave no encouragement to native grievance-mongers of the sentimental type, but on the other hand he had a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the masses under his rule—the silent toiling millions—and the constant aim of his administration was to improve their condition. All practical works tending in this direction—drainage, roads, railways, village schools, &c., were prosecuted with the greatest vigor, and he left Bengal with the warm good wishes and heart-felt respect of all classes of the Indian and Anglo-Indian community.

Miss Cass, a young woman of respectable position and antecedents, was arrested near Regent Circus for solicitation, was brought before the Magistrate, Mr. Newton, and charged with that offence. The Magistrate dismissed the case; but in doing so, intimated his own opinion that Miss Cass was there "for no good," and warned her that she would be fined or imprisoned if she was brought before him again on the same charge. This reminds us of Punch's story, illustrating the administration of justice in the remoter parts of Scotland. The Magistrate to the prisoner, "Domald, I'll only fine ye half a crown this time." Domald.—"But your worship its nay proven." The Magistrate—"Never mind, I'll fine ye half a crown, and if you are brought up again, proven or not proven, I'll fine ye ten shillings." The Government at first refused an enquiry into the Cass case, but were compelled, by an adverse vote of the House of Commons, to institute the inquiry, and the result of the inquiry is that the Police Constable is being prosecuted for perjury.

We continue to receive satisfactory news from Burmah. The country is settling down. The admirable military dispositions of General Roberts have had the effect of check-mating the dacoits in every direction, and one most satisfactory feature of the later operations in Upper Burmah is that, the surprises instead of being on the side of the dacoits were almost entirely on our side, and, when this came to pass, when the dacoits realized that they were being beaten at their own game—rapid marches and sudden appearances in unexpected quarters—they lost heart, and by the end of this year, it may be anticipated that they will cease from troubling, and that Tommy Atkins will be at rest.

Two important meetings, connected with a most important Indian Medical question, have been held in Calcutta. Dr. Birch, the president of the Calcutta Medical Society, brought forward a resolution before that body in which he affirmed that a Medical Registration Act for Calcutta was urgently needed. Dr. Birch supported this resolution in a weighty and incisive speech, in which he drew a terrible, but entirely unexaggerated picture, of the evils resulting from quackery, as quackery in its most unchecked form is practiced in Calcutta. Dr. Birch's resolution was carried unanimously; and now that the Medical Faculty have done their part, it is to be hoped that the Government will do theirs, and step in to stop the further spread of an abuse which has already assumed such terrible proportions.

Some bye-elections took place since our last number was issued. Spalding County, the northern division of Glasgow, the Northwick division of Cheshire,—and the results were favourable to the Gladstonian candidates. It would be foolish to under-rate the significance of these elections, for very significant they unquestionably were. It is to be feared that they indicate that inevitable reaction of public feeling which the strongest and wisest administration that ever ruled England might be altogether powerless to avert. But that reaction, if it is a reaction, has come terribly soon, and it is also to be feared that the blunders and vacillations of a government which is neither very strong nor particularly wise, have greatly influenced, what appears so far to be, a very decided change in English opinion as regards the question of Home Rule.

G. A. STACK.

*The 24th Sept. 1887.*

# SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

## *Punjab Dispensaries. 1886.*

### PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The number of in-door and out-door patients treated during the year, as compared with the number treated in 1885, is given in the following table :—

|                  |     | <i>Number treated<br/>in 1885</i> | <i>Number treated<br/>in 1886</i> | <i>Increase</i> |
|------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| In-door patients | ..  | 40,810                            | 41,893                            | 1,083           |
| Out door do.     | ... | 1,739,517                         | 1,806,390                         | 66,873          |
| Total            | ... | 1,780,327                         | 1,848,283                         | 67,956          |

The total increase of 67,956 persons treated does not include 2,928 out-door patients who were seen at the Nārowal dispensary prior to its dis-establishment, nor 9,505 persons to whom medical aid was given by itinerant dispensaries in the Rohtak District. The year under review was an exceptionally healthy one in many districts of the Province, and so the increase in attendance at the dispensaries may safely be accepted as evidence of the growing popularity of these institutions with the people. The largest number of patients treated in any one district was in the Gurdaspur District, where it amounted to 1,31,124. In the Peshawar District there was an increase of 31,286 out-patients, and in the Jhang District a decrease of 10,947. No explanation of this large decrease is offered. The Lieutenant Governor will be glad to receive any remarks the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals may care to offer on the subject.

The number of deaths among in-door patients was less than in the year 1885, but more than in 1884.\* The average death-rate was, however, less than in either 1884 or 1885, the percentage being 4.93 in 1884, 4.90 in 1885, and 4.69 in 1886. The average

cost per diet was the same as last year, 7½, 10 pies.

There are altogether 2,755 beds for in-door patients in the Punjab; of these 823 are for women. There is a great want of such accommodation at Delhi, Sonapat, Faridabad, Shorkot, Kohāt and Laki but especially at Delhi, where the daily average number of patients is 43.21 to only 28 beds. The Duffein Hospital at Delhi—a project to which Surgeon Major G. C. Ross materially contributed—will, when built, meet the particular want at that place; but some delay must occur as the plans were drawn on too pretentious a scale, and fresh plans and estimates have to be prepared before building can be commenced. Its construction is to be taken in hand by the Provincial Public Works Department.

7. The diseases for which the largest number of patients were treated were malarial fever, ophthalmia, respiratory affections, ulcers and skin diseases.

| Year    | Number of deaths |
|---------|------------------|
| 1884 .. | 1,938            |
| 1885 .. | 2,000            |
| 1886 .. | 1,960            |

*Survey of India, 1886.*

THE Survey of India has made a new departure. It is engaged in work of a financially remunerative character :

The Survey Department has, during the year under review, made a considerable advance in the direction of improving its financial value to the State by undertaking work of a positively remunerative character. The most notable operation of this kind is the Great Traverse Survey of the Central Provinces which, by providing a frame-work for the detailed field plotting of villages by district establishments, will probably enable the Revenue authorities to complete the assessment of about 40,000 square miles, without the loss of a single year's revenue. The performance of this work has thrown a heavy burthen on the Department, which it has borne in an admirable manner, at a time when, for financial reasons, it has been required to contract its establishments, and when the demands for a survey staff on the Boundary Commission, in Upper Burma, and in the North West Frontier, had added to its difficulties. A Traverse Survey of the same kind was effected in Ajmir, while a large amount of Cadastral work was done in the North-Western Provinces, Central Provinces, Bengal, Burma, and Assam, and at the same time some valuable forest surveys were executed in Burma and Bombay. The Government of India is glad to acknowledge that in no previous year has the Department done more to prove its financial value to the State, and accords its thanks to Colonel Thulher, and the officers who assisted him, for the energetic manner in which they have given effect to the policy advocated by the Government of carrying out survey operations in co-operation with the Revenue authorities on the system which has been found most conducive to the financial interests of the State. The labours of Colonel Barron, Major Sandeman, Colonel Steel, and Mr. Scott in the field of Revenue Survey, and the cordial assistance which they have, under Colonel Sconce, rendered in placing Cadastral surveys on an economical basis, are especially deserving of acknowledgment.

*Jail Administration of the North-Western Provinces  
and Oudh, 1886.*

# PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The steady decrease in the jail population, which had marked every year since 1878, has been arrested, and the number of prisoners rose by about 4½ per cent., from 73,788 in 1885, to 77,313 in the year under report. The increase is accounted for, partly by the admission of 462 prisoners from Burma and Rajputana, and partly by an increase of 2,033 in the number of persons convicted by the courts in these Provinces during the year. An examination of the returns shows an increase of 2,965 in the number of convicts with sentences of less than a year's imprisonment; the punishments of more than 2 and less than 10 years were nearly stationary, while those of a more serious character showed a sensible decrease. In the statements showing the Class of Crime, the chief variations are found under the heads of theft, receiving stolen property, and house-breaking, where the combined increase amounts to 3,352, and of offences against public tranquillity and hunt, which have decreased by 497. These figures would seem to indicate a certain amount of distress among the lower classes; and from the revenue returns it appears that, though the rainfall was above the average in amount, it was not opportune, and both the autumn and spring harvests yielded considerably less than a full average outturn.

*Sanitary Administration of the Punjab, 1886.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The death-rate of the Province 26·60 per 1000, remained almost stationary, there being a difference in favor of the year under review, as compared with the year 1885 of '32 per mille. The state of health of the Province may, therefore, again be said to have been good.

The number of births registered, 743,739, was higher than the number registered in 1885 by 11,805, —an increased rate of '63 per mille. This rate is slightly higher than the average for the past five years. The districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Karnál, Ludhána, Hissar and Hoshiárpur, show the largest increase in the rate per mille in this respect. In his Report for 1885, the Sanitary Commissioner remarked, that the registration of births was very defective in the Pesháwar and Dera Ismail Khan districts. The figures for the year under review show that no improvement has taken place with respect to the former district, but the large increase of nearly 12 per mille, in the rate of the latter district would, in the absence of any other explanation, lead to the conclusion that the defect has, to a great extent, been remedied. The Gurdáspur, Siálkot and Jullundur districts lead with the highest rates, 72½, 50·48 and 47 per 1000, respectively. Fourteen districts, including these three, show birth-rates of over 40 per mille, twelve of over 30 and under 40 per mille, and five of under 30 per mille. The male birth-rate was 21·13 per mille, and the female 18·34 per mille.

The death-rate of the Province is again 27 per mille. The number of deaths registered was 501,266 against 507,140 in 1885. The rate per mille among males and females was 26 and 27 respectively. The excess of deaths among females over the deaths among males is most marked in the Jullundur District; and the Sanitary Commissioner draws particular attention to the difference of the death-rates of the two sexes in infantile life in this district. Among children under one year of age, there is a difference of 45 per mille. This certainly is remarkable, and it would seem desirable that an attempt to investigate and explain the cause of it should be made by the Sanitary Commissioner, as well as by the local authorities. In the Simla, Ferozepore, Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdáspur districts, female mortality was considerably in excess of male mortality. Delhi, Gurgaon and Karnál are again among the districts with the highest death-rates, although the rate is lower than in the year before. The statistics for the frontier districts are considered untrustworthy. The Sanitary Commissioner gives a very useful table on page 3 of the Report, showing the months in which the mortality is highest. This table shows that the months of October, November and December, that is, the months which follow the rains, and in which the greatest decrease of temperature takes place, are the most unhealthy; and the spring months, or those in which the temperature again rises, are the most healthy.

*Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The following comparative table shows the total number of cognizable and non-cognizable cases reported in the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta during the year 1886 and two preceding years :—

|                |                 | 1884   | 1885.  | 1886.  |
|----------------|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Cognizable     | { Penal Code    | 4,638  | 4,132  | 5,049  |
|                | { Miscellaneous | 16,010 | 13,948 | 19,336 |
| Non-cognizable | { Penal Code    | 12,248 | 9,692  | 8,538  |
|                | { Miscellaneous | 18,692 | 19,999 | 21,017 |
| Total          |                 | 51,588 | 47,771 | 53,940 |

An increase of over 6,000 cases is at first sight a very formidable increase; but an examination of the figures in the appended returns for the two years shows that there has not been any real increase of crime. For instance, in the town, cases of grievous hurt have increased from 21 to 37, and house-breakings from 130 to 170, but, as a counterpoise, there were only 1,699 cases of theft, and 138

of criminal and house-trespass, against 1,858 and 186, respectively, in 1885. The increase is to be looked for under the head of nuisances, and one or two local or special Acts, as is manifest from the following figures :—

|   | 1885  | 1886. |
|---|-------|-------|
| • Offences under Stage Carriage Act ... ..  | 1,161 | 1,823 |
| Cognizable public and local nuisances ... ..  | 323   | 1,284 |
| Miscellaneous offences in streets, under Act IV (B.C.),<br>166, as amended by Act II (B.C.), 1880, sec-<br>tions 66, 68, 68A, 70 ... .. | 4,604 | 7,956 |
| Cruelty to Animals Act I (B.C.), 1869 ... ..  | 2,829 | 3,389 |

### *Inland Emigration, 1886.*

#### PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

Dr. Grant is able to give complete particulars only as to the transport of emigrants registered by contractors, as the others travel independently. As in the preceding year, all the emigrants registered by contractors were brought in the first place to Calcutta, none going to Goalundo direct. Of the 2,945 persons registered during the year, 2,885 arrived in the Calcutta depôts, 9 were discharged and 51 deserted. After the addition of 221 persons remaining from the previous year, and of two infants born in the depôts, the number lodged in the Calcutta depôts in 1886 was 3,108. Of these, 2,422 departed for Goalundo, and 16 travelled by rail to Mubari. The remainder were disposed of as follows :—Fifteen were rejected, 204 discharged, 265 deserted, 7 died, 138 remained in the depôts at the close of the year, and 41 were not accounted for by a contractor who closed his depôt. Of these last persons, Dr. Grant writes :—“It is probable that the coolies were allowed to leave the depôt to be engaged elsewhere, in order to avoid the payment to them of compensation, which would have been awarded them had they been discharged in the usual way with the knowledge and consent of the Superintendent of Emigration.” This irregularity should be borne in mind in the event of the contractor seeking a renewal of his license.

### *The Administration of the Lower Provinces of Bengal from 1882-83 to 1886-87 Being a supplement to the Annual General Administration Report for 1885-86.*

IN the snug hope that it may be of use to his successor, Sir Rivers Thompson has written a history of his reign, from his own point of view ; and has had it printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. The period under review, he says in his introduction, has not been so fortuitously aided by sunshine and luck as was Sir Ashley Eden's term of office ; but, thank Heaven, “the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act alone is sufficient to mark the administration as one in which the first real effort was made to settle, upon an equitable basis, the relations between landlords and tenants in these provinces.” Act X of 1859 was nought, according to Sir Rivers. The moral seems to be that human nature *will* be human nature to the end of the chapter, and that the highest possible principles do not exempt a man from vanity.

The first of our late Lieutenant-Governor's triumphs was opening out the Subordinate Executive Service to competition. Sir Rivers seems to have not the slightest glimmering



of an idea that competition is yet on its trial ; is far from being generally accepted as a wholesome product of 19th century progress. In matters educational, even the go-ahead Yankees repudiate it.

From the 15th March 1883, the Contagious Diseases Act was abandoned by the Government of Bengal, as "logically indefensible."

In the the same year a Burial Board was established for the better management of the chief cemeteries in Calcutta. In 1884 a Director of Agriculture and an Etcetera Department were sanctioned for Bengal. What do they do? Sir Rivers sings the customary pæan of praise over Local Self-government, which is accepted as a fact, and not a farce.

Twenty new legislative Acts were passed during the term of his tenure of office :—

Amongst the more important ones may be cursorily mentioned the Bengal Tramways Act, the Jute Warehouse and Fire-brigade Act, an Act to regulate Ferries in Bengal, an Act to enable the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta to provide Docks, an Act further to amend the Village Chaukidari Act, 1870, an Act to amend the Municipal Act, 1876, an Act to provide for a Survey of the Town of Calcutta, an Act creating a Port Trust at Chittagong, an Act to regulate the Rural Police of Chutia Nagpur, and one to amend the Calcutta Port Improvement Act of 1870, by which the power to elect members of the Port Commission is given to the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades' Association, and the Municipality of Calcutta.

During Sir Rivers Thompson's incumbency Mahārājā Mahendra Narayan Bhup, Bahadur, of Kooch Behar, came of age, and "assumed the government of a State provided with good roads and bridges, and a complete systems of education, justice, public works, and finance." All that this completed ruler of men has to do now, is to wait till the clockwork "systems" run down—and then wind them up again.

In 1884, command of the semi-military police in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was given to the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, and the results of this Secretariat juggle are said to have been excellent :—

The relation of the Tributary States of Orissa towards the Government came before the High Court in the course of the year 1882-83, in connection with the Morbhanj State, when it was decided by three out of five Judges constituting a Full Bench, that that State was not within British India. The question was referred to the Government of India, with the Lieutenant-Governor's recommendation that there should be an appeal from a decision, the correctness of which was open to grave doubts. The judgment, however has been accepted, but only in its effect upon the one State to which it applied. Since the death of the Mahārāja in 1883, the State of Morbhanj has been under British management with the prospect of extensive material development. The minor Mahārājā, now 13 years of age, has been under the charge of an English tutor, and is receiving his education at Cuttack.

A civil suit brought by Kumār Nabidwip Chandra Deb against the Mahārājā of Hill Tipperah for determination of his rank, and also for maintenance, was dismissed by the High Court in 1882-83, on the ground of want of jurisdiction, it being held that the Mahārājā was an independent Prince or ruling Chief, to whom section 433 of the Code of Civil Procedure applied. This ruling was of great importance, as the Mahārājā owns extensive estates in British India, and if he be held to be an

independent Prince, difficulties may be expected to arise in connection with them. A modification of sections 432 and 433 of the Code has since begun under contemplation.

Sir Rivers gives dissertations on Census operations, the Economic history of the people, and Emigration ; but has nothing new or striking to say with regard to any of these subjects. It appears that, as a result of the warm interest taken by His Honour in agriculture, three agricultural shows were held at Doomraon, under the patronage of the obliging Maharaja of that place, we presume.

Then comes the oft told tale of Surveys, Settlements, Government Estates, Wards Estates, &c. Then a chapter on Police and Prisons. The only statement in it worth repeating is this :—

There have generally been about a hundred boys in confinement in the Alipur Reformatory School. The success of this institution, and the want of accommodation led to the further development of the system, and in September 1882, the Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned the opening of another reformatory at Hazárábh. In both institutions the discipline and health of the inmates have been good, and, with very few exceptions, the youths released on the expiry of their terms of confinement have taken to honest work, and have been reported to be doing well. The idea of having a training ship for Muhammadan juvenile offenders has been under consideration, but is not yet fully matured.

As a condensed work of reference, Sir Rivers Thompsons' account of a stewardship that, in multifarious Reports and Resolutions had already been rendered, may have its uses possibly. Meanwhile, it has helped to give employment to presumably idle hands at the Bengal Secretariat Press.

*A Supplement to the Fatchpur Gazetteer.* By F. S. Growse, C. I. E. Bengal Civil Service. Allahabad, North-West Provinces and Outh Government Press. 1887.

THE outcome of Mr. Growse's antiquarian love and lore is always pleasant reading never dry-as-dust, instinct rather with practicality. He is dissatisfied with the Gazetteer of the Fatchpur district, published at the Allahabad Government Press in 1884. To use a homely expressiveness, it has "rubbed him up the wrong way." With the result that a spirit of repugnance to its "total blank regarding all such matters as architecture and archeology, upon which Natives are seldom competent to speak," has moved him to put forth a supplement to its lame record, by way of protest against it. But, characteristically, he has done more than protest, and better.

Two special grants from Government, and a more liberal expenditure of district funds, which previous Collectors had annually allowed to lapse, have enabled me to carry out works for the conservation of the temples at Bahua and Tinduri, of the temple mosque at Hathgáw, and of Aurangzeb's extensive memorial buildings at Khajua. The cotton-printers of Jafarganj, who practise the only local industry of artistic

significance, but were making a most precarious livelihood by it, have been supplied with constant employment during my two years' tenure of office, and in consequence, have greatly improved in skill and are acquiring a wide reputation, which, I trust, will survive my departure. Considering the character of the work, their charges are reasonable; and the clear annual profits of the family do not exceed Rs. 500. It is therefore to be hoped that the struggling manufacture will not be prematurely stifled by assessment under the odious Income Tax, from which I have hitherto exempted it. The curtains, bed covers, and table-cloths are extremely effective, and are in most general demand. The *shamianas*, or ceiling-cloths, sent to South Kensington for the Exhibition, seem to have been taken by all the newspaper reviewers for Kashmir work, which they resemble when seen by artificial light. The mistake must be regarded as a compliment, though it has had the immediate effect of robbing Fatehpur of its due meed of praise.

The district of Fatehpur being, like so many other Indian districts, essentially agricultural, cannot lay claim to many manufactures of importance and interest. The most interesting are, whips of the old Indian shape, called *Kora*, worked with gold thread and silver mounted, bed-covers, curtains, and awnings, of very exceptional merit, and Indian playing cards (*ganjea*). About these cards we are told:—

The best maker, Mir Gāzi, lives at Khajula. Each pack consists of eight suits of twelve cards each. The material ordinarily employed is paper or *papier maché*, price Re. 1 or Re. 1 8 a pack; but the best kinds are made of the scales of the *rohu* fish, price Rs. 3. A pack of the very cheapest description, such as natives commonly use, can be had for two or three annas. The names of the eight suits are given in the following lines:—

Tās Sufed Shrusher, Ghu Jan  
(Yih anad dāhta Kā n an),  
Sār h, Chāng Bō n, Kīnash  
(Yih āwe cā kā lān)

Here is an extract suggestive of time's wreckage and over layings:—

Asothai (for *Asvatthāmapura*) is about a mile off the Bahua and Dhātā road. The fort was built by Arāru Sinh in the first half of last century: the town is many hundreds of years older. Its original site is indicated by an extensive brick strewn mound, two or three furlongs to the south of the fort. On the highest part of it is a small modern enclosure which bears the name of the eponymous hero Asvatthāma, the son of Drona, but was evidently the site of an ancient temple of Mahādeva. Part of the *sikhara* has been set up as a lingam; the gurgoyled water-spout makes a trough for a well; and many other sculptured fragments are lying about, or have been built up into walls, all of the ninth or tenth century. On a smaller mound further to the south are five large figure sculptures. All are nude; one is standing, the others are seated cross-legged, with the usual accessories: lions, elephants, and devotees. The hair of the head is in short close curls as in statues of Buddha; but the nudity is more a Jami characteristic. The people call them the five Pāndus.

Mr. Growse's supplement contains sundry studies in byeways of history, some curious pedigrees, and bits of family history. Tradition has it, for instance, that the Gautam Thakurs once owned the whole of the Fatehpur district, and

much adjoining territory on both sides of the Ganges. They claim descent from the Vedic saint Gotama, Buddha Gautama's ancestor. And now—

To such extreme indigence is the Rāja reduced, that his eldest son, and consequently the heir to one of the oldest titles in India, was lately a constable in the Hamppur police, on a salary of Rs. 10 a month. He has now resigned, as there was not much prospect of promotion, on account of his imperfect education. The second son has been given a small scholarship for his support, and is a pupil in the Government School in the town of Fatehpur; but though fifteen years of age, he is only in the ninth class; and thus there is little prospect of any revival of the family fortune in this generation. With hereditary *insouciance* the Rāja, during the last revenue settlement, which was in progress for seven years, from 1871 to 1877, allowed the poor remnant of his estate to be permanently burdened with an annual charge on account of some land which had long since passed out of his possession, and is now owned by a rich money-lender. Soon after I came into the district, he complained to me of the hardship to which he was subjected, and I represented the matter for him in the proper official quarter, but could obtain no redress.

A book on the vicissitudes of Indian families, after the example set by Sir Bernard Burke in England, has yet to be written.

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*Review of the Management of Estates in the Court of Wards, or under the Taluqdar's Relief Act in Oudh.* For the year ending 30th September, 1886. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press.

THE Report on the management of estates in the Court of Wards, or under the Taluqdar's Relief Act in Oudh, for the official year ending 30th September 1886, deals with the statistics of 60 estates. Eight new estates were brought under management during the year.

The gross rental of the estates under management amounted to Rs. 16,73,943, and the arrears of previous years to Rs. 1,84,049. The collections were Rs. 16,03,904 on account of current rents, and Rs. 43,629 on account of arrears, the total amount realized being 98.66 per cent. of a year's rental.

We are glad to note that the cost of management was lessened during the year under review, and that careful attention seems to have been paid to this very important matter. Apropos, we are told that the experiment of placing the estates in the two districts of Rae Bareilly and Partabgarh under a special manager, Mirza Humayun Qadr, of the standing of a Deputy Collector, is considered a success. The Commissioner of the Rae Bareilly Division writes:—"The way in which he has faced his difficulties, and unostentatiously got through a great deal of honest work, is very creditable to him."

Well-sinking has greatly exercised the ingenuity of the

good people administering the affairs of encumbered estates in Oudh. Colonel Hørsford writes :—

“It is easy enough to allow a number of wells to be made; but the difficulty is to get them well made. The Managers have no knowledge of well-sinking, and the men they have to entrust the work to, they have no real confidence in. At the best the men so employed have but small wages, and the supervision over them is equally little. Nearly always the cost is under estimated, and the attempt is made to work within the estimate. The result often is that the well is somehow or another patched up to pass muster, and soon comes to grief, and becomes more or less useless. The more honest the Manager is, the more shy he is of undertaking such work. The question is how to overcome the difficulties we necessarily labour under.

Boring tools, to be obtained through the Agricultural Departments, at a cost of Rs. 400 the set, are suggested as a practical solution of the difficulty.

About benevolent and charitable trusts, we are told that of the twelve existing in Oudh,

seven belong to Lucknow, and materially alleviate the poverty and destitution which cannot fail to exist in a city with its history. They are under the supervision of a large and influential committee, known as the General Charitable Committee, though the internal management in each case is left in the hands of special sub committees. A few figures will illustrate the good done by these institutions during the year. The King's Poor-house relieved 76,880 paupers, besides supporting 188 monthly pensioners. The King's Hospital gave medical aid to 116,513 persons, of whom 23,033 were in-door patients. The Balrampur Hospital treated 19,221 out-patients and 845 in-door patients. The New Charity Fund disbursed nearly Rs. 18,000 in small charitable allowances to destitute native families; while the Baillie Fund supplied the Civil Chaplain with Rs. 848 for the relief of destitute Europeans and Eurasians. The year's management of all these funds is deservedly praised by the Commissioner of the Division. The Balrampur Hospital was greatly improved in its internal arrangements, and supplied with a full complement of surgical instruments and other hospital appliances. A new wing was added to the Unani branch of the King's Hospital, and iron cots substituted for the old wooden beds. Extensive additions and alterations were commenced in other branches of the hospital, in which the English system of surgery and medicine is practised. The King's Poor-house was greatly improved by the construction of a new and commodious verandah for the use of the inmates.

Expenditure on Jubilee fireworks may enliven for an hour, but the poor we have always with us.





